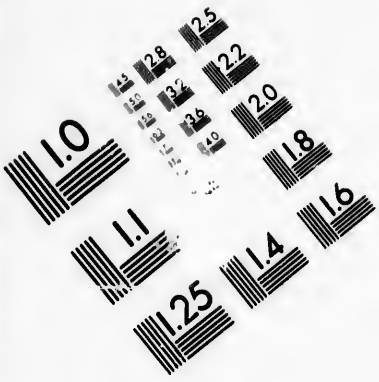



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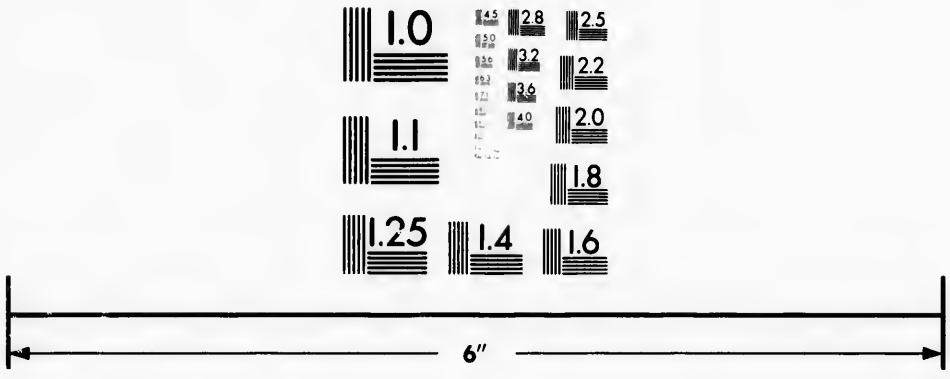



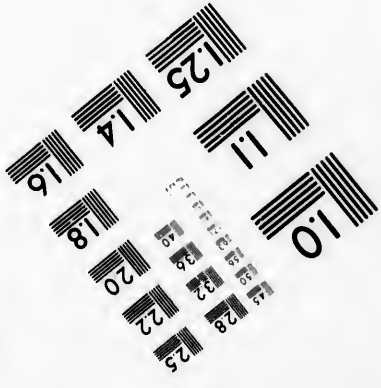


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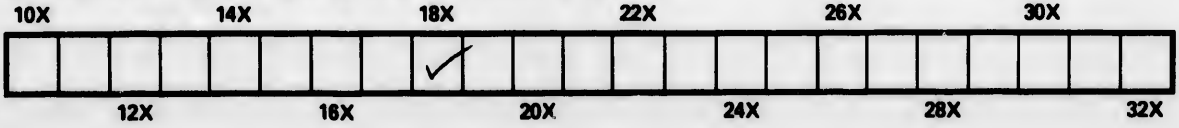

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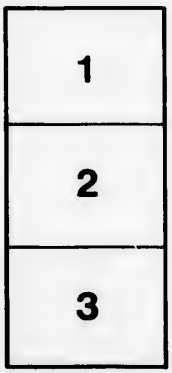


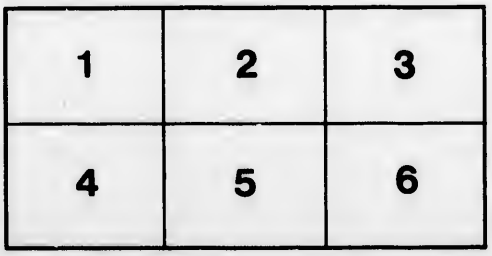


32X

# JACQUES CARTIER,

## His Life and Voyages.

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BY

JOSEPH POPE.

Printed and bound by A. S. WOODBURN,
Ottawa, Ontario.

To

THE HONOURABLE AUGUSTE RÉAL ANGERS,

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC:

THIS LITTLE SKETCH OF THE

LIFE AND FORTUNES

OF THE

DISCOVERER OF CANADA,

IS

BY KIND PERMISSION OF HIS HONOUR,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE SECOND VOYAGE.

Gracious reception by the King—Cartier commissioned afresh. —Preparations for second voyage.—*La Grande Hermine.* —*La Petite Hermine.*—*L'Emerillon.*—Departure from St. Malo.—Rendezvous at Blanc Sablon.—Port St. Nicholas. —Bay of St. Lawrence.—Discovery of Anticosti.—Search for North-West passage.—Arrival at the river Saguenay.— Isle aux Coudres.—Query, Did priests accompany the expedition ?—Island of Orleans.—Donnacona.—Welcome to Taignoagny and Domagaya.—The harbour of Holy Cross.— Selection of the St. Charles as their place of abode.—Stadaconé.—State visit of Donnacona to the ships.—Interchange of civilities.—Efforts of the savages to dissuade Cartier from proceeding farther—Their stratagem.—Its failure.— Departure for Hochelaga.—Ochelay.—Shallowness of the water obliges the French to leave their ship near the mouth of the Richelieu.—Arrival at Hochelaga.—Cordiality of reception by the Indians.—Visit to the town.—Description thereof.—Its situation.—Fortifications.—Query, To what tribe did these Indians belong ?—Agouhanna.—His meeting with Cartier.—Sick people brought to be healed.—Cartier's efforts to impart some knowledge of the Christian Religion. —Visit to Mount Royal.—The Ottawa river.—Departure from Hochelaga.—River of Fouez.—Return to the port of Holy Cross.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE SECOND VOYAGE (continued).

Visit to Stadaconé.—Description thereof.—Trudamans.—Story of massacre.—The inhabitants of Stadaconé.—Their worship.—Habits and mode of living.—Tobacco described.— Esurgny.—Marvellous tales of the country of Saguenay.— Approach of winter.—Frost and snow.—French attacked by scurvy.—Their miserable condition.—Invocation of the Divine assistance.—Religious service.—The remedy found and applied.—Marvellous cure effected.—Approach of spring.—Preparations for return to France.—Abandonment of *La Petite Hermine.*—Suspicious behaviour of the savages.—Cartier's resolution taken to seize Donnacona and other Indians.—His action in so doing criticized —Erection

# PREFACE.

In the early part of last year it was announced in the public prints that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec had generously offered, through the Literary and Historical Committee of the "*Cercle Catholique*" of Quebec, a silver and a bronze medal for the best and second best essays on "Jacques Cartier, his Life and Voyages." The papers were to be written in either the French or the English language, and the competition was open to home and foreign writers. The writer competed, and on the 25th February last, had the good fortune to receive an official notification from the President and Secretary of the Committee, that in the English section his essay had been awarded the first prize. This paper is now submitted to the public.

In thus enlarging the number of his judges, the writer ventures to express the hope that the same kindly criticism which he has so far met with, may attend him in the wider field.

Whatever of imperfection there may be in his work, he can at least honestly say, that his earnest endeavour has been to set out in plain and truthful language the facts connected with the earliest dawn of Canadian history, and to give an accurate and faithful picture of the central figure in the scene. To that end the original records have been diligently studied and compared, and the most trivial statements of fact, whenever practicable, carefully verified.

The writer takes advantage of the opportunity here afforded, to record the sense of obligation under which the uniform courtesy of the Librarians of Parliament, A. D. DeCelles, Esq., and M. J. Griffin, Esq., and also of L. P. Sylvain, Esq., of the Library staff, has placed him. To the goodness of these gentlemen in placing the resources of the Library unreservedly at his disposal, and in offering every facility for their examination, is due not a little of whatever success may attend this his first venture in the world of letters.

JOSEPH POPE.

OTTAWA, *25th April, 1889.*

## CHAPTER I.

# INTRODUCTORY.

Introductory.—Early voyages to America.—Scandinavian accounts.—Biarni.—Leif Eriksen.—Helluland.—Markland.—Vinland.—Basque traditions.—Cabots.—Gaspar Corte-Real.—Jean Denys.—Thomas Aubert.—Baron de Léry.—Spanish conquests.—French interest in maritime discovery awakened.—Verrazzano.—Doubts as to the authenticity of his letter.—Jacques Cartier.

LORD MACAULAY, in his admirable essay on Lord Clive, expresses his surprise that while the history of the Spanish Conquest in America is familiar to almost everybody who reads at all, so little should be known in England, even by educated people, concerning the great actions of their countrymen in the acquisition of India; and he, rightly in our opinion, ascribes this anomaly, in part, to the difference between the historians of the two great events. Nobody can read Mr. Prescott's works, without becoming deeply interested in his narration of the story of Cortés or Pizarro. The standard historians of the East, on the contrary, are somewhat heavy in their style, and in consequence fail to attract the ordinary reader. Lord Macaulay has himself done much to remove this obstacle to the spread of knowledge of Oriental affairs, so much so that we feel justified in saying that, were the distinguished historian still living, we could point out to him a contrast much more striking than that suggested by the lack of acquaintance displayed by the average Englishman of to-day with matters

relating to India and its people. We refer to the want of knowledge on the part of the people of Canada, and particularly of English-speaking Canadians, of all that pertains to the history of our country prior to the days of Wolfe and Montcalm.

We cannot help thinking that the Canadian who knows next to nothing of how and by whom his country was reclaimed from barbarism and heathendom, has much less excuse for his ignorance than had the average Englishman of the last generation for not being able to say off-hand, who won the battle of Buxar, or whether Surajah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore. For it should not be forgotten that before the era of steam and electricity, India was a far-off land, inhabited by a strange race, of whom little was known and less understood. Moreover, battles were fought and kingdoms lost and won in Hindostan, months before the knowledge of such exploits could reach England, and to the generality of men, news from six months to a year old is rarely of a character to excite much interest. Thus we can readily understand how Englishmen continued to regard the 'dim orient' with but languid concern, until aroused by the unspeakable horrors of the Sepoy Mutiny.

But how shall we account for the indifference of the mass of Canadians to the early history of their own country? For *we have* a history—a record of great deeds done and great things suffered, not thousands of miles across the sea, but here on the very ground we tread. There is not a day in which the citizens of Quebec and Montreal, for example, do not look upon objects and places made for ever memorable by the piety or valour of their forefathers—places

into which, for some of us, the memory of the illustrious dead has passed, but which are wholly devoid of interest to the ordinary passer-by, in whom they awaken no emotion or tell no story.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of certain literary gentlemen amongst us, things are better in this respect than they were a few years ago; but in spite of all that Mr. LeMoine and others have done to popularize the account of the early settlement of Canada, not to speak of Mr. Francis Parkman, who has a singular aptitude for investing the recital of historical facts with a romantic charm, we venture to doubt whether one person in one hundred, selected at random in any part of Canada, could tell off-hand the name of the English Admiral who contended with Champlain for the possession of Quebec: who founded Montreal: what is meant by the Conspiracy of Pontiac: or by whom was the Gospel first preached on the shores of Lake Huron?

The history of the discovery and occupation of Canada by the French is, as we have said, an eventful one. If not so full of brilliant deeds as is that of the Spanish Conquest in the south, it is still more free from anything analogous to those horrible tales of cruelty and avarice which have tarnished the glory of the Spanish arms. The Spanish *Conquistadores* of the 16th Century (with some honourable exceptions) were consumed by the lust for gold, and with them everything was subordinated to that ignoble passion. In pursuance of that object they were ever ready to sacrifice all that honourable men hold dear, and their course in the Western World was too often marked by perfidious cruelty and scandalous intrigue.

Far otherwise was it with 'The Pioneers of France in the

New World.' Underlying the natural love of adventure and the laudable ambition to extend the dominions of their Sovereign, which were common to all discoverers of that age, was ever to be found in them a vehement desire to carry to the inmost recesses of the western wilds the knowledge of the Christian Faith. They longed to impart to the rude savages with whom they came in contact, those graces and blessings which are sacramentally conferred, and to substitute for the abominations of paganism, the pure worship of the Catholic Religion.

The fixity of purpose, the patient self-denial, serene courage, and dauntless heroism, displayed by the Jesuit missionaries to Canada, in their work of carrying the Gospel to the heathen savages, are such as to command the admiration of all who have any knowledge of their career, and we feel sure that while Canada endures, the names of Isaac Jogues, Charles Garnier, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, and their fellow labourers, will be held in veneration, more especially by those who profess the faith for which these illustrious servants of God, after years of toil and hardship, unillumined by any hope of earthly reward, went to a barbarous and cruel death.

While these devoted men were undoubtedly exponents of the highest form of the religious spirit, it is not the less true that the idea of Christianizing the Indians, which was the ruling passion of their lives, animated the minds and influenced the conduct of many of the gallant soldiers and sailors from France who first approached our shores, and in scarcely one of them is this spirit more conspicuous than in the brave adventurer who first explored our mighty river, and thus opened the door of Canada to the European

world. Need we say that we refer to the intrepid mariner of St. Malo, whose life and voyages we propose here briefly to review.

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When and by whom was America first made known to Europeans, are questions which we think still admit of discussion, though for all practical purposes, the universally received opinion that it was discovered by Christopher Columbus, in the year 1492, must be accepted as correct. For certain it is that, prior to that date, there was no general knowledge of the fact that across the western ocean lay vast regions, extending from pole to pole, abounding in natural riches, possessing every variety of climate, and capable of sustaining millions upon millions of human beings. There were, no doubt, traditions, more or less vague, of previous visits by Europeans to strange lands beyond the sea, traditions which lead us through various stages of improbability, back to the fabulous legends of antiquity. Some few of these, however, are not without a basis of fact.

It is known, for example, that Iceland and Greenland were colonized by Scandinavians centuries before Columbus, and it is, we think, not unlikely that some of those hardy navigators should have gone on a little farther and landed on some portion of the American continent. It is, indeed, pretty well established that one Biarni, having set out from Iceland for Greenland, was carried by contrary winds far to the southward, where he came upon unknown lands. After meeting with sundry vicissitudes, he arrived home in safety,

and recounted his adventures to his countrymen, amongst them to Leif, son of Eirek the Red, who, fourteen years before, had discovered Greenland. Leif was so impressed with the recital, that he purchased Biarni's vessel, manned her with thirty-five men, and started about the year 1000 to follow up his discovery. After sailing (it is not said how long) they came to the land last seen by Biarni, where, unlike the latter, who never set foot on the new lands, they landed on a barren, inhospitable region, to which they gave the name of *Helluland* (that is, land of broad stones). They then put to sea again and came to another land, low lying and covered with woods. This land they called *Markland* (that is, land of woods). They then continued on their course, and impelled by a north-east wind, two days later reached a more hospitable country, abounding in Indian corn and grape vines, from which latter circumstance they called it *Vinland* (that is, land of wine). Here they spent a winter and planted a colony.

Many historians are of opinion that Helluland was Newfoundland; Markland, Nova Scotia, and Vinland somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island. Other writers question the soundness of this deduction, and affirm that these Vikings never got south of the Strait of Belle Isle. The question turns largely upon the interpretation of one Icelandic word. It is stated in the Saga of Eirek the Red, that on the shortest day at Vinland the sun remained above the horizon from half-past seven in the morning until half-past four in the afternoon. The word translated half-past four is '*eyktarstad*,' which word is said by some philologists to have stood for half-past *three* in the old Norse language. If their shortest day was only eight hours long, Vinland

could not have been far south of latitude 50, which is that of the more northerly portions of Newfoundland.[1]

Coming down to more recent times, we have various accounts of Basque, Norman, and Breton fishermen having frequented the Banks of Newfoundland at a period anterior to the date of Columbus' discovery. That they were in numbers a few years afterwards, not only on the Banks, but also in the Strait of Belle Isle, and up the St. Lawrence as far as the Saguenay, is a well authenticated fact, and it is not easy to determine the dates of their first visits.

Passing over the voyages of Columbus, which do not come within the scope of our narrative further than as serving to separate tradition from history, we come to John Cabot, the first European of whom we have any certain knowledge to visit the shores of North America.

Cabot was a Venetian merchant resident in Bristol in the year 1494. The wonderful tales relating to the discovery of a New World, which were then beginning freely to circulate, had a strong fascination for him, and he too would fain search out other lands. Accordingly he applied for credentials to Henry VII., King of England, who granted to him and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, Letters Patent,[2] dated the fifth of March, 1496, under which they were empowered to subdue, occupy, and possess all lands

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Note 1.—This interesting subject is fully discussed by Mr. Eben Norton Horsford, in his "Discovery of America by Northmen," published last year. See also a paper styled "The visit of the Vikings," by Mr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in Harper's Magazine for September, 1882.

Note 2.—The text of the Commission from Henry VII. to John Cabot and his sons is to be found in the third volume of Hakluyt's collection of voyages. It runs; "Dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebastiano, & Sancio, filiis dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis" &c. It is dated "Apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martii anno regni nostri undecimo."

in the King's name, but at their own charge, reserving to him one-fifth of the profits of the enterprise.

Armed with this authority, in the spring of 1497, John Cabot, accompanied by Sebastian, sailed from Bristol in the good ship "*Matthew*," bound for the unknown shores. What became of the other brothers does not appear. Holding a direction north-west of that taken by Columbus, on the 24th June, 1497, they came upon land which they called *Prima Vista*. In all the older histories this *terra primum visa* of Cabot is set down as being on the coast of Labrador, but if the map of 1544, commonly ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, be authentic, the first land seen undoubtedly was the north-eastern extremity of the Island of Cape Breton.[3]

Near by was a large island (probably some portion of Newfoundland, which is represented on Cabot's map as being a cluster of islands). This they named St. John, in honour of the day. The inhabitants of the island were clad in beasts' skins, which, we are told "they have in as great estimation as we have our finest garments." They were well armed with rude weapons. Fish, especially the kind called by the savages, *Baccalaos*, abounded, as also did birds of prey. It is worthy of note that this word *Baccalaos* is said to have been the old Basque equivalent for codfish, and the fact (if it be a fact) of Cabot finding it in use by the natives of Newfoundland would go to show that the Basque traditions of prior discovery are not wholly unfounded.[4] It

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NOTE 3.—In a letter on 'John Cabot's Landfall,' addressed in 1885 to Chief Justice Daly, President of the American Geographical Society, Mr Eben Norton Horsford discusses this question, and arrives at the conclusion that the site of the landfall of John Cabot in 1497 is Salem Neck, Massachusetts, in latitude 42°. 32'. The land first seen, Mr. Horsford thinks, may have been Cape Ann, or possibly the mountain Agamenticus.

NOTE 4.—The following quotation from Don Quixote—part 1, chapter 2—is

is, however, very questionable whether the statement twice made in Hakluyt's version of the Cabot voyages, that the word *Baccalaos* was employed by the savages of Newfoundland at that early period, be correct. We have seen it stated that the aborigines of North America called a codfish *Apegé*, while Cartier tells us that in "the land newly discovered" the word used by the "wilde men" to designate a codfish is *Gadagoursere.*

Cabot returned to England in safety, was knighted by the king, and commissioned afresh, with larger powers than originally had been granted to him. About this time, however, he died, and to his son Sebastian was committed the command of the second expedition.

Sebastian Cabot made several subsequent voyages in search of the much talked of passage to China, or Cathay, as it was then called, from one of which he brought back three men clad in skins "taken in the Newfound Island, who did eate raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could understand them." These savages apparently were not slow in adapting themselves to their new surroundings, for the historian, after describing their "brutish" behaviour and uncouth aspect, goes on to say that meeting them two years afterwards, dressed in civilized garments, he scarcely recognized them! It is nowhere expressly stated that either John or Sebastian Cabot landed anywhere on the shores of the New World, though from the narrative it seems probable that at all events Sebastian did so on the occasion of his second voyage.

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interesting in this connection as indicating that the word Baccalaos was employed in Spain in the 16th century;

"The day happened to be a Friday, and in the whole inn there was nothing but some pieces of the fish which they call in Castile *Abadejo*, and in Andalusia, *Baccalao*," &c., which farther on is described as being "ill soaked and worse cooked."

About the same time (in 1500) a Portugese, named Gaspar Corte-Real, coasted along the shores of Labrador, whence he brought back to Portugal a ship load of natives destined to be sold into slavery. Indeed, this appears to have been the chief object of the voyage, and it has been conjectured that the name '*Terra da Laborador*' was bestowed by the Portugese slave merchants, who conceived the newly found people to be peculiarly adapted to manual labour. The traffic, however, was never developed. Corte-Real was lost at sea the following year, and the Portugese, attracted by the marvellous tales from what were then known as the Indies, relinquished all claim to a country so inhospitable as Labrador, and left the way open to a more generous and humane people. Corte-Real is said to have discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, though we think that honour belongs equally to Sebastian Cabot, or more properly still to Jean Denys, a native of Honfleur, who made a map of the locality in 1506.

In 1508 a Dieppe pilot named Thomas Aubert made similar explorations, and if we are to believe the Dieppe chronicles, ascended the St. Lawrence 80 leagues. Some years later witnessed Baron de Léry's unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony on Sable Island.

Hitherto the French monarchs had shown towards these expeditions an apathy which forms a marked contrast to the zeal which characterized their successors in all that pertained to the New World. The cause of this seeming indifference is, we think, not far to seek, and to be found in the absorbing nature of their foreign wars, which left them little leisure for more peaceful pursuits.

In 1515 Francis the first ascended the throne of France.

A few years later and all Europe rang with the fame of the exploits of Cortés, and the rich spoils of Mexico, to be followed at no long period by the golden trophies of Peru, began to pour into Spain. Historians tell us that Francis, fired by these accounts of Spanish successes with a spirit of emulation, was eager to vie with his great rival in maritime discovery as in all other things, and to this end he fitted out four ships which he placed under the command of one Giovanni da Verrazzano, a Florentine navigator, who is said to have accompanied Aubert in one of his voyages to America in 1508.

Verrazzano left Dieppe in the latter part of the year 1523 with four vessels under his command. Being caught in a storm off Brittany, which disabled two of his ships, he was compelled to put into port to refit. He then cruised along the coast of Spain with two vessels (of the fate of the other two we are not informed) where he captured some valuable booty from the Spaniards. Shortly afterwards, having despatched one of his ships back to France, presumably in charge of the spoil, he set sail in the other for the New World. The chronicle relates that after sailing for many days they came upon "a new land, never before seene of any man either ancient or moderne." This land is said to have been in latitude 34, which corresponds to the latitude of Cape Fear in North Carolina. They sailed northwards along the coast for many leagues, meeting with a variety of adventures, until they approached the land "that in times past was discovered by the Britons," which is stated to have been in latitude 50, where, having taken in wood and water, they concluded it was time to return to France.

The sole record of this voyage is to be found in a letter

purporting to have been written by Verrazzano, from Dieppe, to the King of France, dated the 8th July, 1524. The authenticity of this document, long unquestioned, has of late years been much impugned. While an examination into the merits of this controversy would be manifestly out of place here, we may just say that a careful perusal of the letter itself as given in Hakluyt and elsewhere, and a comparison of it with the Relations of Jacques Cartier and other early navigators, do not tend to confirm our belief in its genuineness. The whole matter is involved in obscurity. We certainly cannot find any evidence in French history to show that Francis ever despatched Verrazzano on such a mission, or that he at any time acknowledged the alleged discovery, or sought to gain any advantage therefrom. Moreover, the reasons which kept the French monarchs from active participation in such enterprises, operated with peculiar force at the very period in which this discovery is said to have been made. Our opinion, which, in view of its being contrary to the generally received notion, we give with much diffidence, is that it was not until after the return of Francis from the battle of Pavia and its consequences, that that monarch began to turn his attention to maritime discovery, incited thereto, it is said, by his old time friend and companion, Philippe Chabot, Sieur de Brion, whom, on his return from Spain in 1526, he created Admiral of France—Chabot in turn receiving his inspiration from Jacques Cartier, then known as a skilful navigator of the English Channel, and belonging to the old town of St Malo.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE FIRST VOYAGE.

Jacques Cartier's birth.—Parentage.—Early life.—Marriage.—Introduction to the King.—Preparations for voyage to America.—Departure from St. Malo.—Arrival at Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland.—St. Katherine's harbour.—Isle of Birds.—Bear story.—Carpunt.—*La baye des Chasteaulx*.—Course through Strait of Belle Isle.—Port of Brest.—Evidences of previous visits of Basque fishermen to the Strait.—The Double Cape.—Course along the west coast of Newfoundland.—Cape St. John.—Course among the Magdalen Islands.—Description north-west coast of Prince Edward Island.—Miramichi river.—*La baye de chaleur*.—Meeting with Indians.—Percé.—Gaspé.—More Indians.—Erection of Cross.—Seizure of two Indians.—Course about Anticosti.—Deliberations.—Resolve to return home.—*Le destroyt Saint Pierre*.—Cape Thiennot.—Homeward voyage.—Arrival at St. Malo.

JACQUES CARTIER was born in St. Malo in the year 1491. Owing to the incomplete form in which the civil registers of that period have come down to us, no record of his baptism can be found; we are therefore unable to give the precise date. In fact, the year of his birth is known only by accident. The date was long supposed to have been the 31st December, 1494, but certain legal documents recently brought to light in St. Malo inferentially disprove this, and assign 1491 as the correct year. Thus, one record dated the 23rd December, 1551, has "*Jac Cartier, LX ans, juré.*" Another dated 2nd January, 1548, "*Jacques Cartier, LVI ans, juré,*" and in another dated the 6th June, 1556, he is declared to

be sixty-four years of age. These statements, we think, justify the inference that he was born somewhere between the 7th June and the 23rd December in the year 1491.[5]

Here is a specimen of the manner in which baptisms were sometimes recorded at St Malo in those days :

" 4 *Décembre*, 1458.

"Die quartâ mensis decembris baptizatus extitit *Cartier* quem levârunt de sacro fonte Stephanus Baudoin compater principalis et Petrus Vivien et Catharina Frete minores, (compatrones et commatrones).

YUGUES GUERRIER,

fecit."

This is supposed by some writers to be the record of the baptism of the father of Jacques Cartier, and probably it is, but how is one to determine from the record itself? The register does not give the name bestowed upon the child, nor even the names of the parents, nor of either of them! We know, however, from other sources, that one Jean Cartier, born in St. Malo in the year 1428, married in 1457 Guillemette Baudoin, who bore him four sons, Jamet, Jean, Etienne, and Pierre. Jamet, the eldest, married Geseline Jansart, and to them was born in the year 1491 our illustrious navigator.[6]

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NOTE 5 —"The assignment of the 31st December, 1494, as the date of Jacques Cartier's birth, has, it appears to us, no better reason than the fact that below that date on the civil registers of St. Malo appears the following :

"Saint-Malo, 31 Décembre, 1494

" *Le XXXI jour de Décembre* fut baptizé *un fils à Jamet Quartier et Geseline Jansart*, sa femme, et fut nommé par Guillaume Maingart principal Compère et petit compère Raoulle (Raoul) Perdriel."

This is the only record of the baptism of a Cartier about that date, and for no better reason it has been assumed to be that of Jacques Cartier. It is true that from Cartier's marriage register we know him to be the son of Jamet Cartier (or Quartier, as it is sometimes spelled) and Geseline Jansart, but it will be observed that this baptismal register does not mention the name of the child. It must have been one of Jacques Cartier's brothers, for Cartier himself, as we have seen, was born in 1491, for which year the baptismal registers of St. Malo are wholly wanting, as indeed they are missing all the way between 1472 and 1494.

NOTE 6 —We have not the date of the marriage of Cartier's father and mother His grandparents were married on the 2nd November, 1457, and his father born (as is supposed) on the 4th December, 1458.

Of Cartier's early life we know nothing. He was, no doubt, brought up to the sea, and probably spent his youth in navigating the English Channel. There is some reason to believe that at this period he made several voyages to the banks of Newfoundland with the Breton fishermen, whom we know to have frequented the shores of the new world in pursuit of their calling, in Cartier's younger days.

In 1519 Cartier married Marie Katherine Des Granches, daughter of the Chevalier Honoré Des Granches, High Constable of St. Malo.[7] The family of Des Granches was socially above that of Cartier, and it says not a little for the young "master pilot," for so he is described on the marriage register, that the haughty old chevalier should have bestowed his daughter's hand upon him. The marriage, so far as we are able to judge, proved a prosperous one, and for thirty-eight years the parties thereto lived happily together. There was only one drawback—their union was not fruitful, and Cartier left behind him no direct descendants.

Scattered throughout the records of Cartier's voyages are

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Note 7.—In Cartier's will (see appendix K) his wife's father is alluded to as Jacques Des Granches.

The following is the record of Cartier's marriage:

"2 *May*, 1519.

..... Reçurent la bénédiction nuptiale *Jacques Cartier* maistre pillote ès port de Sainct-Malo, fils de Jamet Cartier et de Geseline Jansart, et Marie Katerine Des Granches, fille de Messire Honoré Des Granches, chevalier du Roy nostre Sire et connestable de la ville et cyté de Sainct-Malo et de.....;"

It does not seem clear that the date '2 May, 1519' appertains to this record. If not, and the marriage was subsequent to it, (as appears probable) the point is immaterial, but if antecedent, it is a question whether the year was not 1520. For at St. Malo in those days, the year was reckoned from Easter, instead of from the 1st January as at present. In 1519 Easter fell on the 24th April. If therefore the marriage took place at any time between the 1st January and the 23rd April, 1520, it would be entered as having occurred in 1519.

to be found indications, faint, it is true, of his having made a voyage to Brazil in early life.[8] This voyage, if made at all, was probably undertaken between the years 1526 and 1529. The Baptismal register attests his presence in St. Malo on the 5th April of the first mentioned year, and on the 30th April of the last named, but not between these dates. This register, in fact, furnishes us with the best record we have of Cartier's life. He seems to have taken a particular pleasure in being present at baptisms, for we find that he assisted at no less than fifty-four of them—at twenty-eight of which he was Godfather. The first occasion was on the 21st August, 1510, when he stood Godfather to his nephew Etienné, son of Jehan Nouel and Jehanne Cartier —the last on the 17th November, 1555, when was baptized Michelle, daughter of Jehan Gorgeu and Martine Jalobert. Upon the Baptismal register, there is an entry which may have some connection with the supposed Brazilian voyage. It is the record of the baptism, on the 30th July, 1528, of one "Catharine du Brezil," at which Katherine Des Granches stood Godmother. This may very well have been an Indian woman or child brought by Cartier from Brazil, according to the custom of the day. The fact of Katherine Des Granches' name appearing on the register, would not of itself necessarily connect Cartier with the ceremony, for

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NOTE 8.—Thus on the first voyage at Gaspé :—

"There groweth likewise a kinde of Millet as big as Peason, like unto that which groweth in Bresil," &c.—*Hakluyt.*

And on the second voyage at Hochelaga :—

"We began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is even as the millet of Bresil," &c.

And at Stadaconé :—

"On which ground groweth their corne, which they call *offici ;* it is as bigge as our small peason; there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill."—*Hakluyt.*

*"Cedict peuple vit en cõmunaulté de biens assez de la sorte des Brisilãs," &c.—Brief Recit.*

there were several persons of that name resident in St. Malo about that period, but taken in connection with the fact that the name of the Godfather, "Guyon Jamyn," was that of a relative of Cartier, we think the association not unreasonable.

We have no information as to when or under what circumstances Cartier came under the notice of the High Admiral of France, nor when it was that Chabot presented him to the King as a fit person to be entrusted with the charge of exploring the wonders of the New World. Neither has his commission for the first voyage ever been found.[9] Cartier's presentation to the King must have been prior to the 19th of March, 1533, for on that date we find him invoking the aid of the Court at St. Malo to assist him in forming his crews. Certain it is, however, that the King was so impressed with Cartier's representations, that he at once gave his sanction to the project, and ordered two ships to be fitted out, giving the command to Cartier, with instructions to do his utmost endeavour to search out the long looked for passage to the East Indies. The preparations for the voyage were made under the supervision of M. Charles de Mouy, Sieur de la Milleraye, Vice Admiral of France, whom later events show to have been warmly disposed towards Cartier. In compliance with the royal behest, he proceeded to St. Malo, and there equipped two vessels of sixty tons each, carrying between them sixty men,[10] exclusive of Cartier, or sixty-one souls in all. Having duly invested Cartier with the supreme command, the Vice Admiral summoned before him the whole company, and

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Note 9.—This document, we think, would probably throw some light on the discoveries of Verrazzano.

Note 10.—See appendix A.

caused all present to be solemnly sworn that they would truly and faithfully serve the King under the authority of their commander.[11]

At length, all being in readiness, Jacques Cartier spread his sails and, leaving St. Malo on the 20th April, 1534, directed his course towards the coast of Newfoundland. The voyage was singularly prosperous, and borne along by fair winds, on the 10th May, they sighted Cape Bonavista, (*Cap de Bonne viste*, R. O.) It was early in the season, and being prevented by the board ice from entering the bay of that name, they ran south-east some five leagues, where they found shelter in a harbour which they named St. Katherine[12] —probably after Cartier's wife. In the course of this narrative we shall find the gallant Breton captain on more than one occasion thus honouring his wife, and the fact, we think, gives us an indication of the strong domestic attachments of the man, which are not always a distinguishing characteristic in those of his profession.

In this port they remained ten days, overhauling their ships, which, in view of their small size, must have suffered greatly from contact with the floating ice that yet hung about the coast. On the 21st May they proceeded on their way, and sailing north-east, reached the island now known as Funk Island, in latitude 49°. 46′, longitude 53°. 11′. Cartier named this rock the "Isle of Birds" (*Isle des Ouaiseaulx*, R. O.) from the immense number of waterfowl he found congregated thereon, of which he gives rather a minute description. He tells us also how, notwithstanding

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Note 11. - See appendix B

Note 12.—The R. O. says:—"Vng haure nomme Saincte Katherine." The *Ed. 1598* reads: "[illegible] que nous nommasmes de S. Catherine."

the fact that the island is fourteen leagues from the mainland, (in reality it is thirty-one nautical miles), the bears swim over in quest of birds, of which they are inordinately fond. Disdaining mere generalization, the chronicle goes on to record that Cartier's men, having disturbed one of these animals in his repast, the bear, which is said to have been "as great as any cow and as white as any swan," in their presence leaped into the sea, where some days afterwards they overtook it with their ships—the bear swimming as swiftly as they could sail. After a struggle they succeeded in capturing the animal, which they ate and pronounced its flesh to be excellent.[13]

Proceeding northwestward, Cartier came to the entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle, which he found choked with ice. He put into Quirpon Harbour, called by him Carpunt (in the R. O. *Rapont)* where he remained some days, waiting for fair weather. In this harbour is a small island, marked on Bayfield's charts "Jacques Cartier Island," and towards the south-west "Jacques Cartier Road." Point Degrat, so named by him, is generally supposed to have been Cape Bauld, the northern extremity of Quirpon Island, but it is, we think, more likely to have been the cape on the east side of the island, which is much more prominent than Cape Bauld, being 500 feet high, while the height of the latter is not much over 100 feet.

Entering the Strait of Belle Isle—already known to mariners as '*la baye des Chasteaulx*'[14]—we find Cartier again giving a proof that the image of his home was ever in his

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Note 13.—We are informed on excellent authority that there is nothing incredible, or even improbable, in this story.

Note 14.—See appendix A.

thoughts, for again he bestows his wife's name upon an island in the neighbourhood. Which of the islands north of Newfoundland was thus named by Cartier, we confess we are quite unable to determine. Scarcely any portion of his narrative is more confused than the page in which is recorded his course from leaving Funk Island until he reaches the Labrador coast. We have spent more time in endeavouring to fix upon St. Katherine's Island, than, to be quite candid, we care to confess. Hakluyt's version is as follows—

"Going from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West and by North: there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seven, either more or lesse than the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maineland. I named it Saint Katherine's Island; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile: but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island and the port of Castles trend toward North North east, and South South west, and they are about 15 leagues asunder."

The *Ed: 1598* is substantially the same: But the *R. O.* says—

"Partant de lappointe du Degrat et entrant en ladite baye, faisant l'Ouaist, vng quart du Norouaist, l'on double deux isles qui demeurent de babort, dont l'vne est à trois lieues de la dite pointe et l'autre enuiron sept lieues de la premiere, qui est," &c.

There are two important discrepancies here. While Hakluyt says—"*There is some doubt of,*" the *R. O.* has "*one doubles,*" and whereas Hakluyt says the islands were on the *right* side, the *R. O.* says they were on the *left.*

St. Katherine's Island cannot be Belle Isle, for assuredly that cannot be styled "a low and plaine land," being 600 feet above the level of the sea; neither does Belle Isle "seem to be part of the mainland"; nor can it well be Sacred Island, which is 269 feet high. Immediately west of Cape

Bauld is Gull Rock, then Verte Island, then Little Sacred Island, no one of which at all answers the description. Jacques Cartier Island, mentioned above, is about half a mile long, and relatively low—138 feet. The truth is that Cartier was in the habit of employing the term 'Island' in a very loose sense, and we should not be surprised if St. Katherine's Island were some cape in the vicinity, and not an island at all—though there are manifest objections to such an hypothesis.

Crossing over to the Labrador coast, Cartier mentions the Port of Buttes (*R. O.*), or 'Gouttes' according to the other versions, and, "Hable de la Balaine" (*Relation Originale*) or the Port of Balances, according to *Hakluyt*. The first named, no doubt, is the Greenish Bay of to-day, and the second Red Bay.

Proceeding south-westward along the coast, he reached in due course the harbour of Blanc Sablon, which still retains its name. South-south-west of this harbour he notes two islands, one of which was named Wood Island, (*R. O.* "*Isle de Bouays*," but Brest Island in *Ed. 1598* and *Hakluyt*), and the other the Isle of Birds.[15] A league further west they came to the present Bradore Bay, then called "les Islettes." This is declared to be a better harbour than Blanc Sablon. Bradore harbour long afterwards was known as "*la Baie de Phélypeaux*," where was built the Fort of Pontchartrain for the protection of the French fishermen.

It is evident that this coast at the date of Cartier's visit, was tolerably well known to Europeans, several of the harbours being already named. Especially is this the case

Note 15.—Wood Island is still known by that name. The Isle of Birds has become Greeniy Island.

with regard to the port of Brest—the next harbour they touched at after leaving Bradore—which, even at that early date, was an important rendezvous for Basque fishermen frequenting the coast. Cartier mentions a little farther on in his narrative how they met a ship belonging to Rochelle looking for the port of Brest, and he notices this, merely by the way, and quite as a matter of course.[16]

It is stated elsewhere that a fort, built of stone and mounted with cannon, was erected at Brest in the 16th century, around which a considerable settlement sprang up. Some writers affirm that a thousand people dwelt round about, and there is authority for still larger figures. To our mind, however, it is extremely unlikely that at the period of Cartier's visit, and for some time afterwards, Brest was anything more than a summer resort for the Basque and Breton fishermen, who, in view of the hostility of the Esquimaux and other savage tribes, found themselves compelled to adopt concerted measures for purposes of defence. The fort was situated at or near the head of what is now known as Old Fort Bay, which is an inlet of Esquimaux Bay—in lat. 51° 24′, long. 57° 48′. The Strait of Belle Isle from a very early period was renowned as a whaling ground, and was, as we have seen, much frequented both by French and Spanish Basques, traces of whom are still witnessed to in the traditions which linger around those northern shores, and even far up the great river itself.

Nearly opposite Trois Pistoles, in the County of Temiscouata, lies in the St. Lawrence river a small island, "*l'Ile aux Basques*," as it is called to-day, where have been un-

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Note 16.—See appendix C.

earthed large hollow bricks, which to the antiquary bear eloquent testimony. They were used by the Basque fishermen for building their furnaces, wherein they melted down the blubber of the whales, porpoises, &c., caught in the neighbouring waters. The bricks were hollow for convenience of transport, as materially reducing the weight. Traces of fishing stages used by the Basques for drying their fish are still visible at different places in the vicinity, notably on a small island called "*Echafaud à Basques*," on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, some six miles west of the mouth of the Saguenay. There is reason for believing that these relics were in use before the days of Cartier. The Basque Roads, near by, were known under that name in the time of Champlain.

To return to Jacques Cartier and his companions, whom we left at the port of Brest, whither they called on the 10th June for wood and water. On the following day, being the festival of St. Barnabas, they celebrated Divine Service. We shall have something to say farther on respecting the nature of this act, and merely allude to it here in order to call attention to the fact that it is the first recorded instance of the public worship of God in this country—we say, recorded instance, for there is little doubt that the reasons which induced the pious commander to ordain this service, must equally have moved him a month before in Catalina harbour, where they remained ten days (and consequently over Sunday), and also at other places along the coast.

Leaving their ships in the port of Brest, they coasted along the western shore in their boats. Entering a good haven, they named it St. Antoine's Port. This is probably Rocky Bay. A short distance beyond, they found another

harbour where they set up a cross and named the place St. Servan's Port. This we take to be the present Lobster Bay. Beyond St. Servan's they came to "another greater river in which we took good store of Salmon." In this river it was that they met the ship of Rochelle which was out of her course. According to the *R. O.* this river was *ten* leagues to the westward of St. Servan's—according to *Ed. 1598*, and *Hakluyt* it was *two* leagues—a considerable discrepancy. If *ten* leagues be what is meant, we can make nothing of it. It may have been Shecatica bay, and the good harbour, Cumberland harbour, though ten leagues would carry them considerably beyond these points. If *two* leagues be intended, St. James river was probably Napetepec Bay, in which case the harbour a league beyond, which he takes to be "one of the best in all the world," would be Mistanoque Bay, the entrance to which is guarded by two islands, 120 and 150 feet high respectively, and is thus protected in an exceptional degree. On the whole, and bearing in mind that they were in their small boats, we are inclined to think that the shorter distance is the more probable, and consequently the latter explanation more likely to be the true one.

In extolling the excellence of the harbours, Cartier regrets that he cannot say as much for the land, which he describes as being barren and rocky—a place fit only for wild beasts. "To be short," he says, "I believe that this was the land that God allotted to Caine."

Along this coast Cartier observed, from time to time, men and women "of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and unruly." They were engaged in fishing, and, we are told, did not belong to the locality, but

"came out of hotter countreys" to the south. From the description given of these savages, taken in connection with Cartier's explicit statement that they came from southern parts, one would have been disposed to think that they could not have been Esquimaux, but rather some roving tribe of the great Algonquin family then beginning to invade the eastern portion of America; l'abbé Ferland, however, holds a contrary opinion, and to his judgment we are disposed to attach much weight.

Disheartened by the ever increasing sterility of this inhospitable shore, Cartier determined upon changing his course. Returning to his ships on Saturday, he remained in port over Sunday, on which day he again caused Divine Service to be celebrated. On Monday morning, the 15th of June, they weighed anchor and crossed the strait to the Newfoundland coast (without knowing it to be such), being attracted by the high lands in the background of Cape Rich, which latter they named the Double Cape. Sailing southward they observed the high hills which fringe this portion of the coast. These they named "*les Monts de Granches.*" Along here they experienced much bad weather, thick mists and fogs preventing them from catching sight of land. Towards the evening of Wednesday, the fog partially lifted, and disclosed a cape that "is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the north side of which there is a plaine iland." Judging from this description, the Pointed Cape was the present Cow Head, a little to the north of which is Steering Island.

From this point until they reached *la baie des Chaleurs*, there is much obscurity in Cartier's narrative. No two

writers agree upon the exact course followed between these two points. We have given some thought to our interpretation of this portion of the route, and while not pretending to absolute correctness in a matter upon which so much diversity of opinion exists, we feel that our explanation conflicts with Cartier's account, in a lesser degree than many which have preceded it. And here we may express the satisfaction with which we have perused the able and instructive paper on Jacques Cartier's first voyage, by W. F. Ganong, Esq., A. M., which is printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1887. Before meeting with it we had laid down the general lines of our interpretation of this portion of the course, and without being aware that anyone had anticipated our conclusions, had rejected the generally accepted theory that the River of Boats and Cape Orleans were on the New Brunswick shore, and had placed them in Prince Edward Island. We were, therefore, much gratified to find our view shared by a gentleman who evidently has a large acquaintance with the subject upon which he writes. We have to thank him for many valuable hints, which have been especially useful to us in tracing the course through the Magdalen Islands and about Anticosti. We are constrained, however, to differ somewhat from Mr. Ganong in his interpretation of the course along that portion of the Newfoundland coast lying between Cow Head and Cape Anguille. Perhaps the most satisfactory way of stating the points of difference between us, would be to give a short synopsis of Cartier's Relation, then Mr. Ganong's interpretation, and lastly our own view.

Cartier says in effect that after passing the Pointed Cape they had stormy weather from the north-east. They there-

fore went south-west until the following morning, by which time they had traversed about thirty-seven leagues, when they found themselves opposite a bay full of round islands like dove cots, which they named *les Coulonbiers*. He continues—"And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called Cape Roial there are 7 leagues, and toward the West south-west side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie and above round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland : that Cape wee named The Cape of milke. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, above which there are also certaine others that show that there be some rivers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee sounded and found 20 fathome water."

The next day, in looking for a harbour, they discovered with their boats that between Cape Royal and the Cape of Milk, above the low islands, there was a "great and very deepe gulfe," within which were certain islands The gulf was shut up towards the south. The aforesaid low grounds were on one side of the entrance to this gulf, and Cape Royal was on the other. "The saide low grounds doe stretch themselves more than halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile ; and in the middest of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe is in latitude fourtie-eight degrees and an halfe." We quote from *Hakluyt*. The other versions, though varying slightly, are substantially the same. We may say here that Cartier's distances and directions, are (as is to be expected) often inaccurate.[17]

Note 17.—To give an idea of the almost uniform inaccuracy of Cartier's

Mr. Ganong thinks that the bay full of round islands was Roche harbour, and in this we agree with him. On Bayfield's chart there is an engraving of Bonne bay with Roche harbour lying to the north, in which is clearly seen the round aspect of the rocks which suggested to Cartier the name of the Dove Houses. He puts the Bay of St. Julien down as Bonne Bay. He is of opinion that Cape Royal is the present Cape Gregory ; the Cape of Milk, South Head, and the islands lying between the two capes, those at the entrance of the Bay of Islands.

On a map of the coast of North America between the Strait of Belle Isle and Cape Cod, published at London by Imray and Son in 1866, Bonne Bay is named "Gulf of St Julien or Bonne Bay." Cape Royal is placed a short distance south of Cape Gregory, and South Head is called "Milk Cape or South Point," all of which are corroborative of Mr. Ganong's reading of the course.

Now for our own view. It does not seem to us at all clear that Cartier meant to imply that the bay in which the round rocks were was the Bay of St. Julien. Nor does he say that the latter was entered by him. On the contrary,

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measurements, we select a few instances in which there can be no question as to the identity of the points between which he meant them to apply

For example, he says that Lake St. Peter is 12 leagues long and from 5 to 6 broad. In reality it is 18 nautical miles long, and 7 wide.

He says that the Island of Orleans is from 10 to 12 leagues in length. In reality it is 18 nautical miles. He says Hare Island is 5 leagues long, and Isle aux Coudres 3 leagues, while the former is only 7 nautical miles long, and the latter only 5. He says the distance between the former Island and the latter is 15 leagues, whereas it is only 26 nautical miles.

It is proper to observe that there were several distinct measures of leagues in use in France in the sixteenth century, amongst others, one of four kilomètres, and another of five kilomètres—the latter being about equal to three English miles—the distance which we understand by a league at the present day. It is probable that Cartier reckoned by league of four kilomètres—about 2 2/5 English miles—but even with this qualification, his distances are, as a rule, too great.

Champlain, on the other hand, must have employed the league of five kilomètres, and he comes very near the mark when he says that Isle d'Orléans and Isle aux Coudres are respectively six leagues and one and a half leagues in length.

we are inclined to think that the Bay of St. Julien must have been the Bay of Islands, dimly seen through storm and fog as the vessels passed down the coast. We think that Cape Royal is Bear Head, or some point in its vicinity, and the Cape of Milk, Long Point (which is marked on some maps, Low Point). The "great and very deepe gulfe," shut up towards the south, and lying between Cape Royal and the Cape of Milk, we hold to be Port au Port Bay. We do not see how the islands lying between these two capes can possibly be identified with those at the entrance of the Bay of Islands, nor South Head with the Cape of Milk. Cartier says that lying north of the latter is a low island. The only island lying to the north of South Head is 1022 feet high. He says that between Cape Royal and the Cape of Milk are certain low islands. There are no low islands anywhere near the Bay of Islands. On one side of the entrance to this bay is Crabb Point, 1300 feet high, and on the other Lark Mountain, 1583 feet. The islands at the entrance are, Tweed Island 702 feet, Pearl Island 845 feet, and Guernsey Island (the one lying north of Long Point) 1022 feet. North of Tweed Island are certain small rocks having an altitude of from 200 to 500 feet. The lands all around the bay are immensely high, down almost to the water's edge—Cape Blow-me-down being 2125 feet high. Here is Cartier's literal description of "the great and very deep bay." We quote from the *Relation Originale.*

"Et trouuames que parsurs les basses terres y a vne grande baye fort parfonde" (we take this to mean in respect of its extension into the land) "et isles dedans, laquelle est close deuers le Su desdites basses terres, qui font vng costé de l'antrée et cap Royal l'autre."

Now if we identify Cape Royal with Bear Head, and the Cape of Milk with Long Point, the low lands which stretch themselves into the sea are readily distinguished in the spur which terminates in Long Point. North of that point there lies a low ledge of rock, and between Cape Bear and Long Point are certain low islands—Shag Island &c., while in Port au Port Bay are Fox Island, Middle Bank, &c. The latitude too of "the great and very deepe gulfe" is said to be 48° 30′, which is that of the middle of Port au Port Bay.

On the evening of the 18th of June they put out to sea, "leaving," says *Hakluyt*, "the cape toward the West." The *R. O.* has it—"et tynmes pour la nuyt à la mer, le cap à Ouaist." The *Ed. 1598* is the clearest—"Nous retirasmes en mer, apres auoir tourné le cap à l'Ouest," which we take to be Long Point.

No action of Cartier, we think, bears truer witness to his stoutness of heart than his course at this particular point. For five weeks he had traversed the desolate coast of Labrador, meeting with nothing to inspire him with the hope of a successful issue of his mission. Yet through storm and darkness he pressed bravely on, and launching out into the unknown waters, committed his frail vessels to the fury of the tempest. For a week they were at the mercy of the winds and waves, enveloped all the while in a thick mist, which prevented them from taking observations or ascertaining where they were. At length, on the 24th June, they caught sight of land which they named Cape St. John in honour of the day.

Misled by Hakluyt who, following Ramusio, heads this portion of his narrative, "of the Iland called S. Iohn," some writers have supposed this cape to have been on

Prince Edward Island, but in the light of what follows, nothing can be more clear than that Cape St. John is Cape Anguille in Newfoundland. Cartier tells us that he caught a glimpse of this 'Iland' through darkness and fog He then sailed west-north-west until he found himself seventeen and a half leagues distant therefrom. (The *Ed. 1598* and *Hakluyt* both say seven leagues and a half, but the sequel shows that the figures given by the *R. O.*, from which we quote, are correct. The two former relations are not infrequently astray in their directions and distances about here). Then the wind turned and they were driven fifteen leagues to the south-east, where they came upon the Bird Rocks, two of which Cartier accurately describes, as being "as steepe and upright as any wall." He named them the Isles of Margaulx, from the quantity of birds he found thereon. Five leagues to the westward he came to a small island, upon which was conferred the name of Brion's Island, (*l'ille de Bryon*, R. O.) after his patron, Admiral Chabot. This name it still retains, though on many maps it is erroneously spelt *Byron*. They sailed among the Magdalen Islands, which they found fertile and pleasant—"one of their fields is more worth than all the New land." They remarked that these fields had the appearance of having been cultivated. At Brion's Island they saw numbers of walruses, of which they appear to have had no previous knowledge.

At this stage of the voyage, Cartier seems first to have surmised the fact of Newfoundland being an island, for he says: "As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be some passage betweene Newfoundland and Brions land. If so it were, it would be a great short-

ning, as wel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it." The foregoing is from *Hakluyt*. The *R. O.* agrees therewith, except that instead of "Brion's land," it has "et la terre des Bretons."

The "goodly Cape," which they named Cape Daulphin, was probably Cape North, of the Magdalens. The *Ed. 1598* says of it "a quatre lieuës de ceste Isle (Brion's) est la terre ferme vers Ouest-Surouest, laquelle semble estre comme une Isle enuironnee d'Islettes de sable noir, là y a vn beau Cap que nous appellasmes le Cap-Daulphin," &c.

From this point until they reach *Allezay* we are in difficulties again. The account is certainly most perplexing. We have to thank Mr. Ganong for the suggestion that the cape of red land is a point to the south of Entry Island, and also that the cape four leagues therefrom (*R. O.*)—the *Ed. 1598* and *Hakluyt* both say *fourteen* leagues—is on Grindstone Island. Upon these suppositions, the two small islands before one comes to the first cape, would probably be the Andromache rocks, and the view of the low lands would be between Grindstone and Allright Islands. *Allezay*, described as being "very high and pointed," was, we think, Deadman's Island, which is represented on Bayfield's charts just as Cartier describes it—a sharp ridge, about 150 feet high. Mr. De Costa appears to be of opinion that *Allezay* was on Prince Edward Island, which only shows that that gentleman can have bestowed very little attention upon the subject. Prince Edward Island, as is well known, lies low; North Cape and East Point, its two extremities, are neither of them much over twenty-five feet high, and to speak of any land on the north shore of that island as "being high and pointed" is simply absurd.

On Monday, the 29th June, they departed from the Magdalen Islands, and sailing westward until Tuesday morning at sun rising, they discovered a land which seemed to be two islands, lying west-south west about nine or ten leagues. The following is from *Hakluyt*, and we make the quotation at some length, because we give to it an interpretation different from the one it generally bears :—

"Wee sailed Westward untill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without any sight or knowledge of any lande, except in the evening toward Sunne set, that wee discovered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond us West south west, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceived that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South south east, and North north west to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelves and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly river, (*une belle ripuiere*, R. O.) but very shallow, which we named the river of boats, (*la ripuiere de Barcques*, R. O.) because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the river. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat us against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire ourselves with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of July, we sailed North east, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and therefore wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, & there we had sight of Cape Orleance, and of another about seven leagues from us, (*sic*) lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde men's Cape (*le cap dez Sauuaiges*, R.O.) on the north side of this Cape (*Nord-Est*, R.O.) about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelve, and banke of stones. × × × × × × The next day being the second of July we discovered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward us, that did ioyne unto the land above said, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about—(R.O. *vigut lieuzs*) in depth, and as much athwart, we named it S. Lunarios Bay (R.O. *Saiuct*

*Limaire*) and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fathome (of) water. On the Northeast side from the said Cape about 7 or 8 leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middest whereof there is a Bay fashioned triangle-wise, very deepe," &c.

The generally accepted account of Cartier's first voyage makes him cross from the Magdalen Islands over to the New Brunswick shore : calls Cape Orleans Point Escuminac, and the River of Boats the Miramichi. We hold, on the contrary, that the land which first appeared to him like two islands, was either the higher land in the interior of Prince Edward Island, which is seen by ships coming down from the Magdalen Islands a considerable time before the low lying coast comes into view ; or possibly two of the larger sandhills lying off Richmond Bay. We judge the River of Boats to have been Kildare River,[18] or it may have been the Narrows, which at that time probably flowed through the Sand Hills.

We think 'Wild Men's Cape' must have been North Cape, off which there is a shoal answering to Cartier's description. We entirely agree with Mr. Ganong in believing that Cartier could have had no knowledge of the fact of Prince Edward Island being an island, and that by the bay of St. Lunario he means Kouchibouguac bay extended indefinitely into the strait which separates the western portion of Prince Edward Island from New Brunswick.

It was on the 2nd of July that Cartier crossed to the New

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NOTE 18.—Some 30 years ago, a number of Indian relics, supposed to be of (relatively) great antiquity, were dug up near the head of Kildare River. They consisted of stone axes, arrow heads, spear points, and the like. Coming into possession of the writer's father, they were by him presented to the British Museum, or to some kindred institution in London. We have frequently heard, when a small boy, that this river had long been noted as having been in times past a favourite resort of Indians.

Brunswick shore. The cape first sighted by him on that day was probably Point Sapin, and the one seven or eight leagues to the north-east, Cape Escuminac. The bay 'fashioned triangle-wise, very deep,' (in respect of its extension into the land) was Miramichi bay. The description he gives of this bay seems to preclude any doubt upon this point. Proceeding northward along the coast, they doubled point Miscou, which they called the Cape of Hope, "through the hope that there we had to finde some passage," and came on the 3rd of July to the entrance of '*la baye de Chaleur*,' so named by Cartier on account of the heat experienced therein. Crossing to the north side they entered St. Martin's creek (*la couche sainct Martin*, R. O.) now Port Daniel, where their ships remained from the fourth to the twelfth of July.[19]

Very restful to the eyes of the storm tossed mariners must have been the view which now opened before them. The wide expanse of water sparkling in the sunshine—the sloping shores, rich in the beauty of their summer garb—the uplands clothed in the deep green of the primeval forest, crowned towards the north and west by the high hills, seemingly placed there by nature as if to shut out the fogs and storms of the northern coast from which they had just

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NOTE 19.—The boundary line between the Province of Quebec and Labrador passes through Blanc Sablon. To be strictly accurate, therefore, it is necessary to say that it was at the port of Brest (now known under the name of Old Fort bay) on the 10th June, 1534, that Jacques Cartier first touched Canadian soil; but leaving the Labrador coast out of the question, we have here, at Port Daniel, in the County of Bonaventure, on the 4th July, 1534, the occasion of his first landing on the shores of what was known in after years as New France, and down to 1866 as Canada. The generally accepted notion is that to Gaspé belongs this honour, but Cartier did not arrive at Gaspé until the 14th July, and did not go up into the Basin until the 16th.

The place within the limits of the Dominion first touched at by him was, in our opinion, at or near Kildare river in Prince County, Prince Edward Island, three days before reaching Port Daniel—namely on the 1st July—by a happy coincidence the day on which, 333 years afterwards, the Dominion of Canada was formed.

emerged—the whole, fresh as it were from the hand of the Creator, formed, on that beautiful July morning, a scene which must have filled the voyagers with delight. Nor have the colours of the picture faded with the lapse of time. The noble prospect which gratified the St. Malo mariner and his companions remains to-day a source of delight to many who, like him, have come from far to dwell upon its loveliness.

Near the spot where Cartier—having explored the bay in his boats, and thus satisfied himself of the non-existence of a passage such as he was in search of—turned his boat's head in order to go back to his ships, is a tongue of land on which now stands the Inch Arran Hotel, where, in summer, are gathered many visitors from "the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay," who come down periodically to breathe the fresh air, and bathe in the glorious blue water which rolls in almost to their feet.

Many are the changes which have taken place in the 354 years that have elapsed since Jacques Cartier first looked out upon this beautiful bay, but among them, the frequentation by the Canadian people of it as a summer resort cannot be enumerated, for its reputation as such was even then established. True, it may be, that the tourists differed as regards the objects of their visit from those of the present day, with whom freedom from the ordinary cares of life is the chief desideratum. We gather also from the accounts we have of the sixteenth century visitors that bathing dresses were then unknown—but let Cartier tell his own story. No one acquainted with the locality will fail to recognize in the following description, Tracadièche inlet, at Carleton, county of Bonaventure, P. Q.

"We saw," he relates, "certaine wilde men that stood upon the shore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, & found that there was a chanel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came unto us, and brought up pieces of Seales ready sodden, putting them upon pieces of wood: then retiring themselves, they would make signes unto us, that they did give them us . . . . They were more than three hundred men, women and children: some of the women which came not over, wee might see stand up to the knees in water, singing and dancing . . . and in such wise were wee assured of one another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoever they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gave us all whatsoever they had, and that was but of small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They live onely with fishing."

From the last sentence it would appear that in addition to the civilizing influences of 350 years, the main difference between the Canadian visitors to the baie des Chaleurs of the sixteenth century and those of to-day, is not unlike that which existed between the lord of the manor and the poacher he found one morning trespassing upon his preserves—the one in quest of an appetite for his breakfast and the other of a breakfast for his appetite.

Charmed as he must have been with the baie des Chaleurs, Cartier did not suffer himself to overlook for a moment the supreme object of his voyage—to find a north-west passage to the Indies. Being convinced that there was no outlet to this bay, he hoisted sail and proceeded in a north-easterly direction along the coast, until he came to Percé, where, between White Head, called by him *le cap de Pratto* (probably after Du Prat, the Chancellor of the French King) and Bonaventure Island, he cast anchor for the night. The weather becoming bad again, they sought shelter in Gaspé Bay, where one of their ships lost an

anchor. The storm increasing in violence compelled them to go farther up the bay into a good harbour which they had discovered by means of their boats. Here, in Gaspé Basin, they remained ten days.

In this place they met with more Indians—a band of some two hundred—who were engaged in mackerel fishing. They had come from the interior, and differed both in appearance and language, so Cartier tells us, from any Indians he had yet seen—agreeing, however, in two respects —their lack of this world's goods, and their desire for commerce with white men.

It is difficult, in view of the readiness with which all the Indians whom Cartier encountered came to his ships and mingled with the French, to avoid the conviction that they had seen and trafficked with white men before. We do not put much faith in the tradition that, prior to the days of Cartier, the Spaniards had entered the baie des Chaleurs, and that finding neither gold nor silver, had exclaimed in their disappointment—"*Aca Nada*"—"*Nothing here*," from which expression it is averred the word 'Canada' is derived. This story may or may not be true. We, however, have never seen a vestige of proof brought to support it, and are rather inclined to ascribe it to Spanish jealousy of French discovery. But we think it not improbable that these savages had seen and traded with the Basque and Breton fishermen, whom we know to have frequented North American waters before the time of Cartier.

From the sequel we learn that the Indians met with at Gaspé were of the same tribe as those whom the French found, the following year, at Stadaconé. Their extreme poverty struck Cartier, who says of them—"these men may very

well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world, for I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth five souce." Crowding around the ships in their canoes, without evincing any signs of fear, they eagerly received such trifles as are ordinarily given upon similar occasions—a present of a small tin b › each of a bevy of maidens, particularly delighting the hearts of those dusky belles, who falling upon Cartier, nearly smothered him with their caresses.

On the 24th July Cartier solemnly took possession of the country in the name of his royal master, by erecting on the point at the entrance of the basin, a cross thirty feet high, on which he hung a shield emblazoned with the *Fleurs de Lys* and the inscription "VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE." Then, in order to inform the Indians of the religious character of the sacred emblem, the pious commander, collecting his men about him, knelt down, and with uplifted hands gave thanks to Almighty d who had preserved them in all their wanderings—pc .g to the heavens and intimating as well as he could, "how that our salvation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth."

The savages professed great admiration for this ceremony viewed in its religious aspect, but they evidently feared that it might have a temporal significance as well, for as the ships were making ready to depart, their chief, clad we are told, "with an old Bearrskin; with three of his sonnes and a brother of his with him," rowed out from the shore, and keeping at a respectful distance, harangued the French from his boat, expressing in a long oration, read in the light of many signs, his dissatisfaction at the proceeding, which he evidently interpreted to be an unwarrantable invasion of his domain.

Cartier, undismayed by this exhibition of temper on the part of the old gentleman, promptly took him prisoner and carried him on board his ship, where he was soon comforted, and finally agreed to allow two of his sons to accompany the French back to their home under promise that they should return the following year. This agreement having been amicably come to, and solemnly ratified by a bounteous repast, the Indians were presented with a few trifles and dismissed to their boats in high good humour, signifying that they would not meddle with the cross.

On the 25th July Cartier departed from his anchorage in the Basin, and doubling Cape Gaspé caught sight of the south shore of the Island of Anticosti which, with the Gaspé coast, seemed as they looked westward to form a land-locked bay. They therefore sailed east-north-east. On the 27th they touched at a point to which they gave no name, but which was probably South Point on Anticosti Island. They then sailed eastward until they came to another cape where the land began to turn—northward, according to *Hakluyt*—the *R. O.* says "à se rabbattre." This cape they named *St. Loys* (*R.O.*) It was probably Heath Point. Following the land northward and north-westward, they reached another cape which they called *Cap de Memorancy.* About three leagues from this point Cartier says he sounded and could not get bottom at 150 fathoms. Judging from this circumstance we should say that *Cap de Memorancy* was Bear Head.

Sailing westward, on the Saturday following, being the 1st of August, they sighted the Mingan mountains on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. For five days they kept along the Anticosti coast, greatly retarded by contrary winds and

currents. On one occasion they nearly grounded. At length, the tide leaguing itself with these adverse forces, the ships could make no further progress. Landing ten or twelve men at North Point, this party made their way along the shore westward on foot, until finding the coast began to trend south-west, they returned to their ships, which they found to have been carried more than four leagues to leeward of the place where they had left them.[20]

It is very difficult, owing to the ambiguity of this portion of the narrative, to know whether Cartier had any suspicion of the fact that he was at the entrance of a great waterway which extended indefinitely in the direction of his hopes. He certainly does not seem to have had any idea that he had almost circumnavigated an island. This much indeed he did know that, under more favourable conditions of wind and weather, a western course was still before him.

But the season was advancing. Storms were gathering, and the question presented itself: should they proceed, or return to France, with the view of following up their discovery next year. If they pushed on, one thing was most probable—they would have to winter amid snow and ice in a boundless wilderness. They had been now four months struggling with the winds and waves, and were ill prepared to withstand the rigours of a long cold season. Summoning his officers and men about him, Cartier discussed the situation with them. After consultation they unanimously

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Note 20.—Perhaps no portion of Cartier's narrative is so perplexing as is that in which he records his course about the Island of Anticosti. We know that after leaving Gaspé he sailed east-north-east, and we find him on his homeward voyage off Natashquan Point, but the account of his course in the interval is most obscure. We can only say that we have given what seems to us to be the least unsatisfactory explanation of it, for which, in a measure, we are under obligations to Mr. Ganong.

determined upon going home, to return next year, better equipped for the prosecution of their enterprise.

Accordingly, they turned their vessels' prows homeward, first naming that part of the Gulf between the north-western portion of the Island of Anticosti and the mainland, '*le destroyt Saint Pierre*,' and profiting by a fair wind, made rapid progress on their way, stopping at Natashquan Point at the solicitation of a band of Indians, whose chief, Thiennot, standing on the summit of the cliff, invited a friendly conference. Cartier, always courteous, complied with his request, and further, immortalized the chief by giving his name to the cape, which it bears on some maps to this day.

These Indians came to the ships as freely, says Cartier, "as if they had bene Frenchmen." Evidently they did not then see white men for the first time.

Impelled by strong westerly winds the ships were driven over to the coast of Newfoundland. Thence they crossed to the Labrador shore, arriving at Blanc Sablon on the 9th August, where they remained until after the 15th, when, having duly celebrated the festival of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, they departed for home, experiencing some rough weather by the way, and entered the port of St. Malo on the 5th of September.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE SECOND VOYAGE.

Gracious reception by the King—Cartier commissioned afresh.—Preparations for second voyage.—*La Grande Hermine.*—*La Petite Hermine.*—*L'Emerillon.*—Departure from St. Malo.—Rendezvous at Blanc Sablon.—Port St. Nicholas.—Bay of St. Lawrence.—Discovery of Anticosti.—Search for North-West passage.—Arrival at the river Saguenay.—Isle aux Coudres.—Query, Did priests accompany the expedition?—Island of Orleans.—Donnacona.—Welcome to Taignoagny and Domagaya.—The harbour of Holy Cross.—Selection of the St. Charles as their place of abode.—Stadaconé.—State visit of Donnacona to the ships.—Interchange of civilities.—Efforts of the savages to dissuade Cartier from proceeding farther—Their stratagem.—Its failure.—Departure for Hochelaga.—Ochelay.—Shallowness of the water obliges the French to leave their ship near the mouth of the Richelieu.—Arrival at Hochelaga.—Cordiality of reception by the Indians —Visit to the town.—Description thereof.—Its situation.—Fortifications.—Query, To what tribe did these Indians belong?—Agouhanna.—His meeting with Cartier.—Sick people brought to be healed.—Cartier's efforts to impart some knowledge of the Christian Religion.—Visit to Mount Royal.—The Ottawa river.—Departure from Hochelaga.—River of Fouez.—Return to the port of Holy Cross.

THE expedition, while not directly successful as regards its primary object, was by no means barren of result, and gave promise of better things next year. Cartier lost no time in laying a full report of his adventures before the King, who was greatly pleased therewith, as also were the high nobles of the Court, particularly the Vice-Admiral, Charles de Mouy, at whose humble request Cartier was appointed Captain and Pilot General, and invested with large powers to pursue the discoveries upon which he

had, as yet, barely entered. Francis, who now seems to have caught the full ardour of maritime adventure, caused three ships to be armed, equipped and provisioned for fifteen months. They were: *la Grande Hermine*, *le Courlieu*, whose name was changed on this occasion to that of *la Petite Hermine*, by which designation we shall afterwards know her; and *l'Emerillon*. By a commission dated 30th October, 1534,[21] running in the name of Admiral Chabot, the King conferred upon Cartier, who is styled therein "Captain and Master Pilot of St. Malo," full command of the expedition and clothed him with ample powers—with the limitation that the voyage was to be one of fifteen months, he was given *carte-blanche*, both as regards the equipment of the vessels and the choice of his men, and was commanded to follow up and complete the discoveries of the previous voyage. The date of the commission indicates the favourable impression which Cartier must have made upon the King, for on its receipt he had not been home two months from the first voyage.

The preparations were made at St. Malo as before, and were completed about the middle of May, 1535. On the 16th of that month, being Whitsunday, each member of the expedition, by command of the Captain, devoutly confessed his sins, and having received the Holy Eucharist, entered the chancel of the cathedral church of St. Malo, and kneeling before the Bishop, Mgr. François Bohier,[22] was by him solemnly blessed and commended to the protection of

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NOTE 21.--See appendix D.

NOTE 22.—L'abbé Faillon in his "*Histoire de la Colonie Française*," Vol. 1, p. 12, says that the name of this prelate was Denis Briconnet, but in this he is in error. François Bohier, successor to Denis Briçonnet, was Bishop of St. Malo in 1535, in which capacity he took an oath of fidelity to Francis I. on the 5th January of that year.

Almighty God. This action is eminently characteristic of Jacques Cartier, the record of whose life is one long witness to his deeply religious spirit. Whatever he did, he always prefaced his action by an invocation of the Divine aid. Whatever of good befel him, he hastened to ascribe to the "Giver of all good gifts." In his hours of trial and difficulty he ever had recourse to prayer—wherever he went in the New World, the sacred sign of our redemption was raised aloft and, so far as he could proclaim it, the sound of the Gospel went forth.

On the Wednesday following, being the 19th May, the three vessels weighed anchor and departed on their course.[23] *La Grande Hermine*, (from 100 to 120 tons burden) was commanded by Cartier in person, the second in command being Thomas Fourmont. *La Petite Hermine* (60 tons) had or captain, Macé Jalobert, of St. Malo, Cartier's brother-in-law, and for mate, Guillaume le Marié, also of St. Malo. *L'Emerillon* (40 tons) captain, Guillaume le Breton Bastile: mate, Jacques Maingard, also both of St. Malo. With Cartier in the *Grande Hermine* were several persons of note—to wit,

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NOTE 23.—The original narrative of this voyage is intituled, "*Brief Recit, & succinete narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres, auec particulieres meurs, langaige, & cerimonies des habitans d'icelles: fort delectable à veoir.*"

Only one copy of the original edition of this work is known to exist. It is in the British Museum. The date is 1545. Ramusio's version in Italian and Hakluyt's in English are evidently translations of this work, an excellent edition of which was published by M. D'Avezac in 1863. The version published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1843, is collated from three manuscript copies in the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris, (Nos. 5653-5589-5644) of an account of Cartier's second voyage. These manuscripts while apparently written by the same hand, differ in certain unimportant particulars. The Editor of the Society's version appears to have incorporated with his work, certain statements of Lescarbot, who has mixed up with Cartier's narrative sundry comments of his own, and extracts from Champlain's writings, in such a manner as to make it difficult at times to distinguish upon whose authority a statement is made.

In this work we have closely adhered to the *Brief Recit*, which we judge to have been written by Cartier himself.

Claude de Pontbriand, son of the Seigneur de Montreueil, and cupbearer to the Dauphin : Charles de la Pommeraye, Jehan Poullet, and other gentlemen. The roll of seamen, or a portion of it, is preserved among the archives of St. Malo, (see appendix E.). On it are seventy-four names. Adding thereto the names of the three gentlemen we have given above, also that of Jehan Gouion, who accompanied the expedition from Stadaconé to Hochelaga, also the name of Philippes Rougemont who, we are told, died of scurvy during the winter of 1535-6, and the names of the Indian interpreters, Taignoagny and Domagaya, who played such an important part in the expedition, we arrive at a total of eighty-one[24] names known to us of the 112 persons[25] who sailed out of St. Malo on the 19th May, 1535.

The weather, favourable at the outset of the voyage, soon turned bad, and in mid-ocean, the ships, driven by tempestuous gales, lost sight of one another on the 25th June. On the 7th July, the *Grande Hermine* which, owing probably to her superior size, seems to have fared better than the others, reached Funk Island, where they took on board a supply of birds. Leaving next day, they proceeded to the

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NOTE 24.—We have given only those names mentioned in the *Brief Recit*. According to the version of Cartier's voyages, published under the anspices of the L. & H. S. of Quebec in 1843, the name of Cartier's servant was Charles Guyot, but neither the *B. R.* nor Hakluyt warrant this statement. This person is alluded to only once in the *Brief Recit* and in the following terms:—"*Voyāt ce, le cappitaine enuoya son serviteur accompaigné de Iehan poullet.*" &c. The Edition of the Society's publication has followed Lescarbot, who has inserted this name in his version of Cartier's narrative. (See Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Vol. 2, p. 360.*)

Again, the paper on Jacques Cartier in the Proceedings of the L. & H. S. of Quebec for the year 1862, gives the names of Jean Garnier, Sieur de Chambeaux : Garnier de Chambeaux : and de Goyelle, as having accompanied the expedition. None of these persons, however, are mentioned in the *B. R* or in Hakluyt. De Goyelle is mentioned by Charlevoix. (Shea's Edition Vol. 1, p. 118.)

NOTE 25.—We say 112 persons, because Cartier himself tells us that when they were attacked by scurvy, his company numbered 110, and we know that did not include the interpreters who had deserted to Donnacona.

harbour of Blanc Sablon, where they had all agreed to meet on the 15th July, but it was not until the 26th of the month that the other two ships came into port, arriving together. They then sailed in company along the coast westward, noting among other places, Meccatina Islands, to which they gave the name of St. William Islands (*les ysles Saïct Guillaume*, B. R.) and Natashquan Point, called by Cartier, Cape Thiennot, the preceding year.

On the 1st August they sought refuge in a haven which they named St. Nicholas, where they set up a cross and remained until the 7th of the month. This port was in all liklihood Pashasheebu Bay, and must not be confounded with the present harbour of St. Nicholas which lies several hundreds of miles farther on.

Advancing westward, on the 10th August they entered Pillage Bay,[26] to which they gave the name of St. Lawrence Bay (*la baye Sainct Laurens*, B. R.) in honour of the saint whose festival is celebrated on that day; noted Mount Ste. Geneviève, and spent two days exploring among the Mingan Islands. Sighting the west point of Anticosti, they were informed by the two Indians whom they had taken the year before, and who had evidently learned a little French in the meantime, that this was the extremity of a great island, to the south of which lay the way to Honguedo (Gaspé); and that two days journey from the said cape, began the kingdom of Saguenay, which extended along the north shore even to 'Canada.'

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Note 26.—Called also *la baie Sainte Geneviève*. M. Plamondon, Missionary to Labrador, says:—"j'ai été frappé de la ressemblance de la baie Sainte-Geneviève avec la baie Saint-Laurent, décrite par Jacques Cartier. Il n'y a pas à s'y tromper. J'ai reconnu la montagne faite comme un tas de blé; on la nomme auj urd'hui *Tête de la perdrix*. J'ai vu la grande île *comme un cap de terre qui s'avance plus hors que les autres*." See foot note Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire du Canada, Vol. 1, p. 23.*

The day following, being the 15th August, they crossed over to the south shore in order to view Cap Madeleine and Mont Louis, first naming the Island, "The Isle of Assumption" (*l'ysle de l'Assumption*, B. R.)[27] in honour of the festival of Our Lady. Recrossing to the north shore, they came to Trinity Bay and Point des Monts where, according to the Indians, began the great river of Hochelaga, the high way to 'Canada' which, the farther it went the narrower it became, even unto 'Canada,' and that there (at 'Canada,') the fresh water began, which went so far up that they had never heard of any man who had reached its source.

One should have thought that the French would have hailed this announcement with joy, and would have lost no time in following up the great discovery they had made. But we see here a remarkable illustration of the tenacity with which all the navigators of that period clung to the idea of a north-west passage. The desire to find a water way north-west to the east, seemed to overshadow everything else, and this door which was now open to them led *south-west* and to fresh water, not *north-west* and to the sea. So, strange as it may appear, Cartier resolved upon going no farther up the river until "he had seene and noted the other lands, & coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Lawrence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage might be discovered." Accordingly they retraced their steps, and leaving their ships at the Bay of Seven Islands, ascended the Moisie river[28] in their boats. After a few days

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NOTE 27.—According to Charlevoix, the old Indian name of this Island was *Natiscotec*. The name 'Anticosti' seems to have been given by the English. The Montagnais Indians call it *Natashkoueh*—which signifies 'the place where one seeks the bear.'

NOTE 28.—Hakluyt says: "At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that

spent in a fruitless endeavour to find the mythical outlet to the north-west, they abandoned the attempt, and returned to their ships at the Bay of Seven Islands where they were constrained by bad weather to remain until the 24th of the month, upon which day they proceeded on their way, calling at the harbour of Bic, which Cartier declares to be "of small accompt." He named it *hable des Ysleaux Sainct Iehan*, B. R., because he entered it on the 29th August, the day on which the Catholic Church commemorates the beheading of St. John the Baptist.

On the 1st of September they reached the Saguenay and entered within its gloomy portals. In this river they met with four boats full of Indians, apparently belonging to the same tribe as did the interpreters, for the latter having introduced, first themselves and afterwards the Frenchmen to the savages, explained matters at some length, and presumably to the satisfaction of all parties.

Emerging from the Saguenay on the following morning, the little fleet proceeded leisurely on its way, stopping over night at Hare Island (so named on the return trip.) They were immensely taken with the white whales they saw disporting themselves in the St. Lawrence, of which Cartier gives rather a minute description, adding that "the people

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containe about ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it, the water is as fresh as any fountaine water."

In a paper entitled "Up the River Moisie," read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec by Mr. Edward Cayley, B. A., on the 1st April, 1863, the Moisie is thus described:—

"The river is so swollen at that season, (June), and comes through the mountain passes at such a pace, as to render the ascent exceedingly difficult, &c. . . . . The river was still so much swollen as very greatly to impede our progress, compelling us to cross from side to side to take advantage of every eddy and inequality there might be, so as to avoid the full force of the stream. . . . . The rapidity of the stream was such that our progress was necessarily slow, often having to employ the pole, and the line when possible, to aid the pole."

of the Countrey call them *Adhothuys*: they tolde us that they be very savoury and good to be eaten."

On the 6th inst. they came to Isle aux Coudres, *(l'ysle es Couldres, B. R.)* which they so named from the number of hazel bushes they found growing thereon, laden with nuts, "somewhat bigger and better in savour than ours." This island, they were informed, marked the eastern boundary of 'Canada.' The harbour in which Cartier's vessel spent the night lies on the north side of this island, and is variously called 'Havre de Jacques Cartier'—its primary name we should judge—'la baie de la Prairie,' from the meadow stretching along the beach—and 'le mouillage des Anglais,' from the circumstance of the van of the English fl et under Admiral Durell having moored there on the 23rd June, 1759.

The next day, being the eve of the festival of the Nativity of Our Lady,[29] they departed on their course up the river, having first celebrated Divine Service—"*Apres auoir ouy la Messe*"—B. R.

As this is generally supposed to have been the occasion of the celebration of the first Mass in Canada of which we have particular knowledge, it may be well that we should leave Cartier and his companions for a few moments in their sail towards the Island of Orleans, whilst we pursue the interesting enquiry as to when and by whom was the Holy Sacrifice first offered in our land. Or, to put the same

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Note 29.—This was the 7th September, 1535—according to the present Roman Calendar, the festival of the Nativity of the B.V. M. falls on the 8th September—We have followed Hakluyt's version of this, who says: "The seventh of the moneth, being our Ladies' even, after service," &c. The *Brief Recit* has—"*Le septiesme iour dudict moys iour nostredame, apres auoir ouy la messe*" &c. In this connection we may quote l'abbe Faillon, who says—"Le savant pape Benoit XIV fait remarquer que la fête de la Nativité de Marie n'a pas toujours été célébrée le 8 de septembre; & en effet, on la trouve marquée au 7 de ce mois dans plusieurs anciens martyrologes auxquels on se conformait encore, en Bretagne, du temps de Jacques Cartier." *Vide* Fallion "*Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*" Vol. 1—p. 13, *Note.*

question in another form—Did any priests accompany Cartier on his voyages to Canada? If any did accompany him, then unquestionably the first Mass of which there is any record, said in that part of Canada which everyone has in mind when asking the question, was offered by one of them at Isle aux Coudres on Tuesday, the 7th September, 1535. If we enlarge the meaning of the word Canada to its present signification, then, always assuming the presence of priests, the first Mass said on the mainland was celebrated at the port of Brest on the 11th June of the preceding year. Let us now devote ourselves for a short time to an examination of this interesting question.

The chief reason for thinking that priests accompanied the expedition are—

1. The narrative expressly states that Mass was said—"*Apres auoir ouy la messe*," occurs frequently in the *Brief Recit*, supposed to have been written by Cartier himself, while Ramusio's version uniformly employs the word "*Messa*"—"*dopo vdita la messa*," and again, "*Et la domenica facēmo dir la messa*." Hakluyt, it is true, renders "Messa," "Service,"[30] but Hakluyt was a Protestant minister who wrote in a time of extreme bigotry, and for some unaccountable reason may have hesitated to make use of the word—for it is noticeable that his variations from the *Brief Recit* occur almost invariably when distinctively Catholic expressions are employed in the latter, of which the rendering of this word is a marked example.

2. On the roll of Jacques Cartier's crew are the follow-

NOTE 30.—Sir Richard Clough, writing from Brussels to Sir Thomas Gresham an account of the obsequies of the Emperor Charles V, performed in that city on the 29th and 30th December, 1558, speaks of the Requiem Mass, as distinguished from other features of the ceremony, in precisely the same words as Hakluyt uses here, "*and the service being done*, there went a nobleman into the herse, who standing," &c. *See Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic. Vol. 1, p. 206.*

ing names—"Dom Guillaume le Breton" and "Dom Anthoine." It is contended that the prefix "Dom" indicates the priestly character of these men.

3. When the Indians at Stadaconé vainly endeavoured to dissuade Cartier from ascending the river to Hochelaga, they asked him, in reply to his statement that their god was a cheat, 'had he'—Cartier—'spoken with Jesus'? To which he answered 'no, but that his Priests had, and that he had tolde them they should have faire weather.'

These reasons, in the opinion of l'abbé Faillon and others, render it 'certain' that the expedition was accompanied by priests. Without directly affirming the contrary, we submit that, like most questions, this one has two sides, and that it is one upon which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at a definite conclusion—for on the other hand it may be urged—

1. Cartier inferentially states that there were no priests with him.

When they had returned in safety from Hochelaga, they profited by the occasion to point out to the Indians that their god Cudragny was an impostor, and that when he prophesied the dire calamities which would befall them on the way to Hochelaga, he evidently knew nothing about it—and then they went on to explain to them the Christian doctrine of the one true God, and told them how this great God had commanded all men to believe on him and be baptised. All of which made such an impression on the savages "that very earnestly they desired and prayed Our Captaine." (mark, *our Captain*) "that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came unto us, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was nobodie could teach them our beliefe and religion,

we excused ourselves, desiring Taignoagny & Domagaia to tell the rest of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, and bring Priests and chrisome with us, for without them they could not be baptised; which they did easily beleeve, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had seene many childen baptised in Britain (Brittany) whiles they were there,"[31]

2. Beyond the instances we have given, there is no allusion whatever to any minister of religion in Cartier's voyages, though the opportunities for mention are very many. When at Gaspé, on the occasion of the first voyage, they set up a cross and knelt around it, it was Cartier who explained to the savages the import of the sacred sign. When they went up to Hochelaga, Cartier is careful to tell us who of the gentlemen accompanied him, but he makes no mention of any priest, though we think it in the last degree unlikely that, had there been priests in the expedition, he would have departed with half his force on this unknown and perilous journey, without one of them going with him. When they reached Hochelaga, it was Cartier who collected the Indians around him, to listen to the Gospel which *he* read. When the ships' crews were attacked by scurvy at Stadaconé and they had recourse to the Divine assistance, it was '*Our Captain*' who caused the statue to be set up and ordered the procession to be organized.

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NOTE 31.—The *Brief Recit* version of this passage is as follows:....."*mais par ce que ne sauiõs leur intẽtiõ & couraige, & qu'il n'y auoit q̃ leur remõstrãt la foy pour lors, feust prins creuse vers eulx. Et dict à Taignoagny & Domagaya, qu'ilz leur feissẽt entẽdre q̃ retourneryõs vng aultre voyage, & apporteriõs des prestres & du cresme, leur dõnãt a entẽdre pour excuse, q̃ lon ne peult baptiser sãs ledict cresme.*"

This, it will be observed, agrees closely with the English quotation we give, which is from Hakluyt, save that where Hakluyt says, "for without them they could not be baptised"—the *B. R.* reads—"*leur dõnãt a entẽdre pour excuse q̃ lon ne peult baptiser sãs ledict cresme.*"

M. Faillon infers from the fact of the writer of the *B. R.* having said that he would come again and bring priests and chrism with him, and then adding parenthetically that he could not baptise without chrism, that he did not mean to consider to understood that he was unaccompanied by priests. He thinks that Cartier judged the savages to be not properly disposed to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, and that when he says "there was no one to teach them our beliefe and religion," he meant that there was no priest who understood the language of the Indians sufficiently well to impart instruction to them.

It seems to us highly improbable that Cartier should have thus arrogated to himself, upon all occasions, the direction of these religious offices, if all the while there were among the company men charged with the spiritual guidance of the expedition. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that a man of such deeply religious feelings, as we know to have animated Cartier, should never once have alluded in the most distant manner (except to deny their presence) to those who, if they had been in the company, must have been, in the dreary winter spent on the St. Charles, almost incessantly employed in ministering to the sick and dying, and in performing the last sad offices of religion over the bodies of their comrades. We should surely have heard something of that heroism which so distinguishes the Catholic priesthood on similar occasions—something about the administration of the last Sacraments—something of that solemn Requiem which the church is wont to sing over the bodies of those who die in her faith. There is not one syllable to found of anything of the kind.

"Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead under the snow, because we were not able to digge any graves for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake."

That is all that is said respecting the funeral services. How different from the subsequent relations of the explorers of New France, on every page of which does the priesthood stand forth, ever preaching the gospel, administering the Sacraments, tending the dying, caring for the dead.

3. Champlain distinctly says of the Récollets, who said Mass at Rivières des Prairies on the 24th June, 1615, that they were the first to celebrate Mass in this country.[32]

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Note 32.—Champlain's words are "car c'estoient les premiers qui y ont celebré la Saincte Messe." *Laverdière's Champlain Ed. 1619, p. 16.* At the foot of page

But, it may be asked, and with some reason, how is this negative view to be reconciled with the arguments brought for the presence of priests?

As regards the third in the order we have stated them, we think it has but little force. For it has never before been maintained that what we may term meteorological gifts are any part of the attributes of a Christian priest. When Cartier informed the savages that the ministers of Jesus had promised fair weather for the voyage to Hochelaga, we do not take it to imply that he sought for a moment to bring the priesthood into competition with the Indian bogey. We think that in saying what he did, he either meant to silence the forebodings of the Indians, or had reference to the solemn benediction bestowed upon his company a short time before in the Cathedral Church of St. Malo.

The presence of the prefix 'Dom' to two of the names on Cartier's register is a more serious matter. We understand that this prefix is a distinguishing mark employed to indicate religious of the Benedictine and Carthusian orders, and its presence here is, we confess, something we cannot satisfactorily explain.[33]

The main difficulty, however, unquestionably is the statement again and again repeated that Mass was said. For example, nothing can be plainer than this—"*Et or-*

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17 is the following note—"Le Mémoire des Récollets de 1637 (Archives de Versailles) dit formellement que, "la premiere Messe qui fust jamais dicte en la Nouuelle France, fut celebrée par eux à la riuiere des Prairies, & la seconde à Quebec."

Note 33.—The position of the names on the roll certainly does not lead one to suppose that they were those of the chaplains of the expedition. Instead of being placed among those of the officers, at the head of the list, where one would naturally expect them to be, we find them far down on the roll—the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth on a list of seventy-four, between a common seaman and one of the ship's carpenters. (See appendix E.)

*donna que le dimēche en suyuant l'on diroit audict lieu la messe. . . . . La messe dicte & celebrée." Brief Recit.*

We can only say that this is but a bald statement of the fact, unaccompanied by any reflections such as would naturally suggest themselves to a Christian—reflections which, it seems to us, would certainly be present to Cartier's mind on the occasion of his assisting at the first offering of the Holy Sacrifice in New France. For in Cartier's estimation the Mass was a great action, the greatest action that could be on earth. That he who was always so careful to note the most trivial incident in any way associated with religion—who was diligent in recording the raising of a wooden cross—in telling us of its size and decorations—in dwelling upon the attendant ceremonies and the effect produced on the savages thereby, should have passed over with the barest mention, the occasion of the first lifting up in Canada of the Divine Victim Himself, under the visible tokens which he has ordained, is a supposition which our mind finds it difficult to entertain. We had rather believe that 'Dom' is a misrendering of the word in the original; (see appendix E.); or that in this particular case it means something different from that which it is commonly supposed to import: (the Christian name of Dominique for example): and that by 'Mass' is meant some form of worship possible to a collection of laymen,[34] than to suppose that

Note 34.—Faillon says that such a practice was unknown in France among Catholics, yet we find Cartier himself, whose Catholicity no one will question, reading from the Gospel and Office Books of the Church, and offering public prayer at Hochelaga.

Lescarbot did the same thing at Port Royal in 1606, when the priests of the expedition had all succumbed to the scurvy. It is true that there was a suspicion of his orthodoxy, but his comrades were Catholics and the expedition was a Catholic one. Speaking with some reserve we may say that the same thing is not unknown to-day in the remote parishes of Lower Canada, where Mass cannot be said regularly. We confess we cannot see anything uncatholic in the practice, but rather the reverse.

Cartier should have embarked upon perilous voyages, dwelt among heathen savages—that his company should have undergone privation, sickness and death; and that, accompanied all the while by ministers of religion, he should have given us a minute account of all his vicissitudes, without making any allusion to those who must have been so often required to exercise their sacred calling.

That our conclusions are indeterminate we readily admit, but the fault lies with the historian who tells us in one breath that Mass was said, and in the next that he was unaccompanied by those who alone could have said it. We shall be satisfied if we have succeeded in showing that l'abbé Faillon and others are not justified in asserting that the question does not admit of doubt.

To return to our friends—Their devotions being ended, they continued their voyage till they came to the Island of Orleans, on the north side of which they cast anchor. On going ashore they were met by many Indians, who at first fought shy, but upon the interpreters going forward and proclaiming themselves to be Taignoagny and Domagaya, their fears were quieted, and they began to flock in numbers about the ships, bringing with them corn and fruits which must have been very acceptable to the voyagers. The island is described as being fertile and pleasant, abounding in vines, from which circumstance they gave it the name of Bacchus Island (*l'ysle de Bacchus*, B. R.)

The next day, the Indian chief, whose name was Donnacona, paid a visit of state to the ships, coming with twelve boats, from one of which, lying out in the stream, he made a long oration. The interpreters then replied, informing Donnacona of their adventures—how they had been over

the big water and been well treated by the French. This seems to have greatly gratified the old chief, who thereupon went on board the captain's ship, and made his acknowledgments according to the custom of the country.

Notwithstanding the positive statement of Cartier that Stadaconé was the abode of Donnacona "and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage," Mr. Hawkins in his "Picture of Quebec," thinks it improbable that these interpreters could have been personally known to the inhabitants of Stadaconé on this occasion, and he conjectures that the names Taignoagny and Domagaya were not proper to these individuals prior to their meeting with Jacques Cartier at Gaspé, but rather had reference to their subsequent adventures, and were intended to indicate a marvellous event in their lives, such for instance as one who had been to a foreign land, inhabited by white people, whence he had returned in safety." He is of opinion that it is not reasonable to suppose that the Indians in the Saguenay and at Stadaconé should have been familiar with the names of two young savages caught at Gaspé—hundreds of miles distant—the preceding year; whereas the communication of intelligence so extraordinary as that which he suggests may have been conveyed by these names, would be sufficient to account for its remarkable effect. It is, however, expressly laid down in Cartier's Relation that the Indians met with at Gaspé differed in every respect from all those before seen[35]—and we are informed in so many words that they did not belong to the locality, but came from inland, and that they never visited the sea except to fish. Moreover, Donnacona,

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NOTE 35.—"Neither in nature nor in language, doe they (the Gaspé Indians) any whit agree with them which we found first."—*Hakluyt—First voyage Jacques Cartier.*

in his account of the massacre of two hundred of his band by the Trudamans, mentions the fact of their having been on their way to Honguedo (Gaspé), showing that his tribe were in the habit of visiting the Lower St. Lawrence during the fishing season. It is worthy of note too, that the reception of the interpreters by the Saguenay Indians was not nearly so cordial as that which awaited them at the Island of Orleans. On the former occasion, one of the interpreters told the savages his name "and then took acquaintance of them, whereupon they came to us." We can very well imagine him saying—"I am Taignoagny, nephew of Donnacona, Lord of Stadaconé—Fear not these palefaces who are our friends." There is nothing to show that they had any previous personal knowledge of each other. But the meeting at the Island of Orleans a few days afterwards was of a different character, and the demonstrations of joy which there greeted them, to our mind indicate a previous fellowship. We shall see how, a few days later, Donnacona presents Cartier with some children, one of whom Taignoagny told the captain, after the ceremony, was his own brother. Of course Taignoagny might have been lying, for he afterwards developed into a thorough-paced rogue, or as Hakluyt puts it, 'a craftie knave,' and standing by itself, this circumstance would not be entitled to much weight, but taken in connection with subsequent events in which Taignoagny and Domagaya played a leading part, it does seem to us that these men formerly had their abode at Stadaconé, with whose people and surroundings they seemed perfectly familiar.

Cartier had not been many hours in this neighbourhood before he made up his mind that its natural advantages

were such as to render it the most acceptable spot he could select as the base of his operations. He therefore, after a short reconnoitre with his boats, determined upon bringing the ships from the lower end of the Island of Orleans to what is now the harbour of Quebec, which he named Holy Cross, (*saincte Croix*, B. R.) because he entered it with his vessels on the 14th September—the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. No one who knows the locality can wonder at the encomiums which Cartier bestowed upon this "goodly and pleasant sound," or at his appreciation of the noble view here presented to his gaze.

On the 16th of the month he caused his two largest ships to go up into the St. Charles, to which he extended the name already bestowed upon the basin, leaving *l'Emerillon* out in the stream in order to be in readiness to proceed to Hochelaga. The spot where Cartier moored his vessels and where the fort was afterwards built, is generally believed to have been at the confluence of the little river Lairet with the St. Charles, on the left bank of the former.[36] Opposite them, across the St. Charles, was Stadaconé, the residence of chief Donnacona and his 'Court,' which Cartier describes as being a place of some size, tolerably well built and provisioned. The surrounding country is stated to have been very fertile, and the savages were evidently not wholly ignorant of the art of cultivation, for while we are told that "they are men of no great labour," we are also informed that "they digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword," and again, it is stated that "they pulled up the trees to till and labour the

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NOTE 36.—See appendix F.

ground "—later, we learn that most of this tilling was done by the women.

The exact situation of Stadaconé is not known. It was certainly built on that portion of the site of Quebec which faces the St. Charles, and was from half a league to a league distant from the point where the Lairet falls into that river—M. Ferland thinks it probable that "Stadaconé était situé dans l'espace compris entre la rue de la Fabrique et le côteau de Sainte-Geneviève près de la côte d'Abraham," and we have the highest possible opinion of the extent and accuracy of M. Ferland's knowledge.

The Indians, with the exception of Taignoagny and Domagaya, the former of whom especially from this time forth began to keep aloof from the French, manifested a lively interest in the bringing up and mooring of the ships, and on the following day Donnacona, attended by a retinue of five hundred persons, again visited Cartier, who received them with his habitual courtesy and presented them with some trifling gifts. On this occasion the interpreters who, from the moment of their arrival, had shown a disinclination to accompany the French up to Hochelaga, informed Cartier that Donnacona was greatly grieved to hear of this intention on his part, and that he would not permit either of them to accompany the ships. To which Cartier replied that he had been commanded by his King to undertake this journey, and that nothing should dissuade him from doing so. The Indians, greatly chagrined, left the ships, but returned next day bringing gifts, among which were included certain Indian children, whom Donnacona presented to Cartier with much formality—one of these being, as we have seen, Taignoagny's brother. The other was a niece of Donnacona.

At the conclusion of this ceremony, Taignoagny informed Cartier that the presents were given to him with the express purpose of dissuading him from going up to Hochelaga—while Domagaya told him that they were in token of good will, and had no reference to Hochelaga, to which place Donnacona was now willing that he should go. Thereupon a warm discussion arose between the two interpreters, by which the French saw that Taignoagny was traitorously inclined towards them.

It is curious to note the strong disinclination the Indians showed to Cartier's proceeding farther on his way. The ostensible reasons which they urged against the journey were :—

1. That the navigation was bad.

2. That Hochelaga was a place of no importance.

3. That the cold was so great there that, even if the French did survive the perils of the journey, they could not endure the climate.

The real reason probably was a fear lest the white men might prefer the society at Hochelaga to theirs, and might not return in a hurry. We are strengthened in this opinion by the fact that their loudest protests against the visit to Hochelaga always occurred immediately after a distribution of presents, and were no doubt quickened by a fear lest there might not be enough of these to go round.

On the following day Donnacona came to the ships again —this time with the request that Cartier would cause his cannon to be fired, in order that they might have some idea of what the sound was like, stating that they had never seen or heard anything of the kind in their lives, and that Taignoagny and Domagaya had been making "great brags"

to him about it. Cartier complied and at a signal his artillery boomed forth, utterly confounding the affrighted savages who, thinking that the skies had fallen on them, led the Frenchmen in turn to fancy by their howlings that "Hell had broken loose."

The occasion was the first on which the portentous sound had ever been heard over the broad bosom of the St. Lawrence. Then for the first time was the fair valley of the St. Charles darkened by the cloud which so often hung over it during the succeeding centuries. Well might the Indian, as the roar of the cannon, thundering against the sides of the mighty cliff on which his frail habitation stood, and rolling over the waters, reverberated from the heights of Levis beyond—well might he recoil in terror from that sound which proclaimed in unmistakable tones the approaching end of his domination.

Cartier was not, however, allowed to depart for Hochelaga in peace. Their powers of persuasion having failed, Donnacona and his friends had recourse to the supernatural, and by means of a stratagem, or as Hakluyt puts it, "a prettie sleight or pollicie," endeavoured to produce by fear that which their arguments could not effect.

On the 18th September they caused three of their fellows, covered with skins, having horns on their heads, and their faces hideously besmirched to represent emissaries of their god Cudragny, secretly to put out in a canoe in the middle of the stream. The rest remained hidden in the wood, waiting for the rising of the tide, at which time only, boats could approach the vessels. The hour having arrived, the Indians emerged from the wood and gathered about the bank of the river as was their wont to do. Cartier, not sus-

pecting anything, called out to Taignoagny, asking if he wanted to come on board, to which the latter replied that he would come later. Just then the boat with the 'devils' emerged from the gloom and approached the ships. As it was passing them to go towards the shore, uprose the demons, the middle one of whom, gazing steadfastly before him, as though reading the future, delivered his message in sonorous tones, but without making any stop. On the boat touching the shore, Donnacona and his people made a rush towards it, but just as they reached the spot, the 'devils' suddenly fell prostrate and lay as dead, whereupon the Indians carried them into the wood near by, where they soon revived and again delivered their warning. The French could plainly hear all this commotion from their ships, but could not divine its purport. As soon as the noise within the wood had ceased, Taignoagny and Domagaya came rushing out, the former shouting 'Jesu,' 'Jesu,' 'Jesu'; and the latter, as though confounded by some astounding intelligence—Jesu! Marie! Jacques Cartier! Cartier seeing their excitement, enquired the cause, whereupon they informed him that their god Cudragny had sent his messengers to inform the French that there was so much ice and snow at Hochelaga, that whosoever would be foolhardy enough to go up there should freeze to death. At this the French laughed heartily, telling the discomfited Indians that Cudragny was "but a foole and a noddie," not knowing what he said or did—adding with quaint simplicity "that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeve in him."[37] The Indians, seeing the futility of

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NOTE 37.—In an article upon *le Canon de Bronze* which was found embedded in the river St. Lawrence opposite the parish of Champlain in 1826, M. Amable

endeavouring to dissuade Cartier from his purpose, desisted —Donnacona informing him through the interpreters that he would not allow any of his men to accompany the expedition, unless Cartier would leave a hostage, which the latter refused to do.

The day following the apparition, being the 19th September, Cartier set sail for Hochelaga in *l'Emerillon*, which had remained in the main river, as we have seen, in readiness to proceed. He took with him Macé Jalobert, captain of *la Petite Hermine*, Guillaume le Breton Bastile, captain of *l'Emerillon*, Claude de Pontbriand, Charles de la Pommeraye, Jehan Poullet, Jehan Gouion, and the other gentlemen of the expedition, and fifty mariners. Borne along by the rising tide, they passed rapidly up the river, delighted with the appearance of the country, which they described as abounding in everything the heart of man could desire—trees and fruits and flowers in endless variety. They landed at several places, wandered amid the trees, plucked the grapes which grew almost to the water's edge, and returned to their ships laden with the rich spoil. They stayed some little time at a place called Ochelay,[38] which is described as being twenty-five leagues from 'Canada'—that is to say from Stadaconé. Despite the distance from Stadaconé, which is much too great as given by Cartier, by

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Berthelot professes to see in this savage pantomime, evidence of the supposed shipwreck of Verrazzano in the St. Lawrence. *See Proceedings Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for 1830.* There does not, however, seem to be any warrant for such a supposition, which apparently owes its existence to the somewhat vivid imagination of M. Berthelot. Nor is there any reasonable ground for doubting that Jacques Cartier was the first European the Indians of Stadaconé had ever seen

NOTE 38.—*Ochelay*, B.R.: *Hochelay* and *Hochelai*, Hakluyt: *Achelacy*, Lescarbot and Champlain: *Achelaiy* and *Achelayy*—manuscript versions, relation second voyage. Mr. Hawkins, in his 'Picture of Quebec,' places Ochelay at the mouth of the Richelieu, while the Rev. Mr. DeCosta falls into a still greater error of confounding it with Hochelaga. Point au Platon is 30 nautical miles distant from Quebec.

Ochelay he in all probablity had reference to Point au Platon. All the way along they had noticed the habitations of men, who were evidently fishermen. Ochelay marked the beginning of a quasi-independent kingdom. There, many canoes approached them from the shore, one of which bore the chief of the country, who after making the inevitable discourse, displayed many signs of friendship gave them certain directions as to their course up the river, and finally presented Cartier with two children, a girl of some eight years old, and a boy of two or three, the latter of whom he returned, on account of his extreme youth. The maiden he kept, and she it was who acted as his interpreter on the occasion of his third voyage.

On the 28th inst they reached "a great wide lake in the middle of the river."[39] On one of the islands at the upper end of the lake they came upon five Indians who advanced towards them with the greatest familiarity, one of them taking Cartier in his arms and carrying him from the boat to the shore. The Frenchmen observed that these Indians had with them a large supply of "wild rats that live in the water."[40] Little did the impatient mariners, ever pressing onward to the realization of their dreams of gold and silver, imagine that the "said rats" were to prove in after years an important source of wealth to New France.

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NOTE 39.—Lake St. Peter, to which Cartier does not appear to have given a name. It was called in after years the Lake of Angoulême, and it must have been so designated very shortly after the period which we are now considering, for Thevet in his *Cosmographie Universelle* published in 1575, Vol. II p. 1011, speaking of it says—"Ce lac porte le nom d'Angoulesme"—"a cause du lieu de *ma* naissance," as he modestly observes elsewhere, respecting a certain promontory in New France which had been similarly honoured. Moreover, in Hakluyt's version of Cartier's voyages published in 1600, a marginal note at this place has the words "The lake of Angoleime."

Champlain entered the lake for the first time on the 29th June 1603—the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. To this circumstance, no doubt, is to be ascribed the change of name, which dates from this time.

NOTE 40.—Musk-rats.

Not discovering the main channel between the islands, they soon found themselves under great difficulty of proceeding, owing to the shallowness of the water. At length Cartier, finding it impossible to float the ship, determined upon leaving her near the mouth of the Richelieu, of the existence of which river they were not then aware. Ordering the boats to be got ready he, together with the two captains, the gentlemen, and twenty-eight sailors, embarked and pulled up the main river until they got within a short distance of Hochelaga, which they reached on the second of October.[41] The spot where they left their boats has been a subject of some discussion. On the whole, we are inclined to think that it was at the foot of St. Mary's current.[42] Here they were met by upwards of a thousand persons, inhabitants of the town, who had come down to receive them, and who greeted them with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of welcome.

Nothing in all Cartier's voyages has struck us as being more singular and less like what one would expect, than the friendliness with which the natives all along the St. Lawrence, between Stadaconé and Hochelaga, received and welcomed the French. They had been only a few days in the country, and it seems scarcely probable that any news of their arrival could have gone before them up the river. The subsequent actions of the people of Hochelaga indicate that they viewed the strangers in the light of supernatural

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Note 41.—The *Brief Recit* says "*dix neufiesme*," which is obviously a m'stake.

Note 42.—M. Faillon thinks they rowed up the current, passed the site of Montreal, and stopped at the foot of the Lachine Rapids. He says, and with some truth, that it should not be a very difficult task for twenty-eight men to row two boats against the St. Mary's current. Cartier's language is ambiguous, but on the whole we do not think that the impatient Indians would allow their guests to row several miles beyond the town, and incline to the opinion that the boats remained at the foot of St. Mary's current.

beings, but before they could have come to any conclusion on that score, we find them everywhere welcoming Cartier and his companions with open arms. They gathered around the bank of the river, men, women, and children, dancing and exhibiting every possible extravagance. The first exuberance of their joy being spent, they bethought themselves of the physical requirements of their guests, and bringing quantities of fish, and bread (made from Indian corn), cast them into the boats. Cartier, in order to show his appreciation of their hospitality, went on shore with many of his companions. Scarcely had they landed, when the whole band crowded around them, the women holding out their young children to be touched by the white men. The French then retired to their boats, but not to rest, for the Indians, resolving to make a night of it, lighted huge fires, about which they danced till daybreak.

Early next morning the company made ready to go and see the town, the captain getting himself up "very gorgeously" we are told. Leaving one of the captains and eight men to look after the boats Cartier, accompanied by the gentlemen and twenty mariners, set out for Hochelaga, under the guidance of three Indians specially detailed for the purpose. The road lay through a beautiful bit of well wooded country;—the large size of the trees especially attracting the notice of the visitors. They remarked, too, that the ground over which they walked was covered with acorns. After proceeding about four miles on their way, they were met by one of the 'chiefest Lords of the citie,' who came to receive them, attended by a suitable retinue. Here they halted, and a large fire having been kindled, the Indian chief made one of those interminable harangues which are always con-

THE ANCIENT HOCHELAGA

FROM A DRAWING IN RAMUSIO

sidered *de rigueur* on such occasions, formally welcoming the strangers to the town. Thereupon Cartier presented the orator with two hatchets and a crucifix, the latter of which he made him kiss and then put it about his neck, greatly to the savage's delight. This interesting ceremony having been concluded, they resumed their journey and soon issued from the forest into an open country, devoted to the raising of Indian corn, then ripe. In the midst of these cornfields stood the long looked for town of Hochelaga. Its site, like that of Stadaconé, is not certainly known. Hakluyt says it was situate a league from the Mountain, but according to the *Brief Recit* it was only a quarter of a league. Assuming the latter to be correct, we think it not improbable that the place where the Indian remains were found in 1860 is the spot where once stood the ancient Hochelaga. The space in which they were dug up, extends from Mansfield street to a little west of Metcalfe street in one direction, and in the other from a little south of Burnside Place to within sixty yards of Sherbrooke street—about two acres in all.[43]

The town was circular in form, surrounded by a triple row of palisades, the middle one of which consisted of stout stakes placed in an upright position, to which the inner

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NOTE 43. In the Canadian Naturalist for 1860 and 1861 there are two interesting articles on these Indian remains by Doctor (now Sir William) Dawson, to whom we are indebted for the information we have given respecting the locality in which the relics were found.

In Ramusio there is an exceedingly quaint old plan of Hochelaga, which, despite the lack of perspective and its numerous absurdities, illustrates Cartier's description very tolerably. The circular wall about the town is plainly shown, with its triple row of palisades, and the galleries with ladders leading up to them; while the better to illustrate the operation of this system of defence, the besieged are represented as casting stones down from the battlements upon the assailants beneath. The cornfields are represented as being behind, as well as in front of the mountain, thus bearing out the statement that "Mount Roiall" was "tilled round about."

and outer rows severally inclined, meeting near the top and giving to the structure a pyramidical form. The whole was firmly lashed together, and formed a barricade of great strength. Placed at intervals on the inside of this fortification were galleries, reached by ladders and well stored with stones to be used for the purposes of defence. The height of this bulwark was about sixteen feet *(deux lances*, B R.). The town had only one entrance, and that strongly secured by bars. Hochelaga consisted of about fifty houses, each fifty yards long and twelve or fifteen broad. They were built of wood, covered with bark, divided by partitions, and sheltered many families. In the midst of each division or room was the fire, around which the men, women, children, and dogs huddled in promiscuous confusion. In lofts overhead was stored their winter provision of corn. They had abundance of vegetables, such as peas, beans, melons and "very great Cowcumbers." The mention of these gives rise to a curious speculation, for they are, none of them, indigenous to the soil of Canada, and must have been brought from the far south, when and by whom, are questions more easily asked than answered. They had also quantities of dried fish packed in cases for winter consumption. At Hochelaga, Cartier specially notes the same peculiarity which he had observed in the Indians he met at Gaspé—that they used no salt with their food.

The description which Cartier gives us of the fortifications of Hochelaga and of the structure of the houses, closely corresponds with that recorded by the Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois a hundred years later, and leaves little room to doubt that the people he found there belonged to the Huron-Iroquois family. The method of fortification he

describes was that practised by all the tribes of the Iroquois race. The Algonquins, on the other hand, did not employ this means of defence.[44]

There are likewise strong grounds for thinking that the people of Stadaconé were also of Huron-Iroquois lineage. In the first place, there is every likelihood that they spoke the same language as did the people of Hochelaga. We have seen how at Gaspé Cartier was quick to notice and record the difference in habits and in language between the Indians he met there and those he had before encountered. But at Hochelaga he says nothing which would lead us to suppose that the Indians he there found differed in any essential particular from those at Stadaconé. The evidence we have is all the other way. For example—the vocabulary of Indian words appended to the relation of Cartier's second voyage is styled—"*le lãgage des pays & Royaulmes de Hochelaga & Canada, aultrement appellée par nous la nouuelle France.*" Now anyone reading Cartier's narrative will see that by 'Canada' he means Stadaconé and its neighbourhood,[45] and this being so, the inference from the foregoing

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Note 44.—Occasionally a palisaded Algonquin town was met with in the south, but the palisades were usually of a single row and planted upright. We have never heard of any such practice among the Northern Algonquins. See *Beverley, history of Virginia*—quoted by Parkman.

Ferland—*Cours d'Histoire*—says of the inhabitants of Hochelaga, that their manners and customs denote their Huron origin, and he adds "et ce qui donne plus de force à cette opinion, c'est que les mots de la langue, conservés par Cartier, appartiennent tous au Huron." Vol. 1, p. 31

Yet strangely enough he says the people of Stadaconé were Algonquins, though it is equally certain that the words employed by them, with the possible exception of the word 'Stadaconé' itself, were of the Huron language, and concerning the latter, Faillon says ("*Histoire de la Colonie Française*," Vol. 1, p. 532.)

"Un missionnaire, qui a passé près de vingt ans à instruire des Algonquins, dont il possède à fond la langue, & une Algonquine, fort connue en Canada, qui a appris sa langue naturelle à plus de vingt missionaires, nous ont assuré l'un & l'autre que le mot *stadaconé* n'avait aucune signification en Algonquin, qu'il était même entièrement étranger à cette langue, & se rapprochait plutôt de l'Iroquois. On a écrit, il est vrai, que, dans la langue des sauvages santeurs," (Ojibewas—a branch of the Algonquin family) "le mot *stadaconé* signifiait une *aile*, & que la pointe du Québec rassemblait, par sa forme, à une aile d'oiseau."

Note 45.—In Cartier's vocabulary it is stated that the Indians employed the

is that the same tongue was spoken at Stadaconé and Hochelaga. Then again, the names in use at the former place—'Canada,' 'Donnacona,' 'Taignoagny,' 'Domagaya,' 'Agouhanna,'—are all Huron. It is worthy of note that this word 'Agouhanna,' which was Donnacona's alternative title, and which signified 'Lord,' was employed by the Hochelaga Indians to designate the same office. The corresponding Iroquois word of later years is '*Acouanen*,' between which and Cartier's *Agouhanna* there is scarcely any difference perceptible to the ear. The Algonquin words are *Kijeinini* and *Okima*, which, it will be observed, are radically distinct therefrom. We therefore think it highly probable that the Indians whom Cartier found at Hochelaga were of Huron-Iroquois lineage, and also that the people of Stadaconé were of the same race, while the savages he met with on the Labrador coast, Prince Edward Island, and the baie des Chaleurs, belonged to the Algonquin family of tribes who, advancing at some remote period from the west, roamed throughout the country which to-day forms the Eastern States, and Maritime Provinces of Canada. When Champlain visited Canada, seventy years later, Stadaconé and Hochelaga had disappeared, and the whole country was occupied by Algonquins.[46]

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word 'Canada' to designate a town—"*Ilz appellent vne ville Canada.*" He also tells us that the country lying along the river from Isle aux Coudres to a short distance west of Stadaconé, was called Canada. To the west of this district lay Ochelay, and then came Hochelaga, to which the other kingdoms were tributary; while the country of Saguenay extended from Isle aux Coudres eastward to within two days journey of Anticosti. Later, we find the whole region stretching north, east and west of Canada and Hochelaga, included in Saguenay.

NOTE 46.—The meaning of the word Hochelaga (if indeed it possesses any signification other than the one proper to it) is not certainly known. The Reverend J. A. Cuoq, in his "*Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise*," defines it to mean "*à la chaussée des Castors*"—At the Beaver's dam.

A Chief of the Six Nations, living on the Brant Reserve, once told the writer, that the word Hochelaga in the Iroquois tongue, signifies "On the fire" or rather

Upon entering Hochelaga, Cartier and his companions were conducted to a large square in the midst of the town, where they suffered themselves to be stared at and handled by all the women and children of the place, who crowded about them, lost in wonder at the novel sight. Presently the more formal reception took place. The younger portion of the community were first removed by the women, who shortly afterwards returned, bringing mats which they spread on the ground and invited the strangers to seat themselves thereon. Then, borne on the shoulders of eight or ten men, entered 'Agouhanna' or their chief, a man of about fifty years of age, undistinguishable as regards his attire, save only by a red fillet of stained porcupine quills bound about his head, which denoted his regal dignity.[47] He was afflicted with the palsy, so that, we are told, his knees shook together. Placing him on a mat near Cartier, the attendants silently withdrew. The Indian monarch, having by signs bid all welcome, turned to Cartier and besought

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"coals"—and that it is the word used to express the broiling of flesh over a slow fire, as in the sacrifice of the White Dog. This would indicate that Hochelaga was the place where the religious sacrifices of the Iroquois once took place, and where the heathen deity manifested himself to his faithful people. Now in the narrative of Jacques Cartier there is a line which certainly lends colour to this interpretation. We have elsewhere related how Donnacona and his people sought to dissuade Cartier from proceeding to Hochelaga by an appeal to the supernatural. The following is Hakluyt's version of Taignoagny's explanation of the apparition of the three 'devils':—

"Our Captain hearing them, (Taignoagny and Domagaya) and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ayled and what was happened or chanced anew: they answered that . . . *their god Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochelaga*, and that he had sent those three men to show unto them," &c. The question at once arises, 'Why should Cudragny speak at Hochelaga and send his messengers therefrom to warn persons at Stadaconé, unless Hochelaga were in some special manner sacred to him? It is not as though his presence was circumscribed, for in another chapter we are told that the people of Stadaconé "believe no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: *they say that often he speaketh with them*, and telleth them what weather shall follow," &c.

NOTE 47.—We adhere to the somewhat imposing phraseology of the old narrative, because while the expressions "King" and "Lord" are wholly inapplicable to the savage polity of the American Indian, they mislead nobody, and impart a picturesque quaintness to the description.

him to heal him, showing him his diseased members and begging him to touch them, which Cartier did, rubbing them with his hands. This so overcame the poor fellow, that taking from his head the 'circle of his glory,' he put it upon Cartier's. Then, as though desirous that all those of his subjects who laboured under bodily infirmity should share in the efficacy of the white man's touch, he commanded all the sick and infirm in his community to be brought and placed in a row that Cartier might heal them, being firmly persuaded that these wonderful strangers were of celestial origin.

To a man of Cartier's habit of mind the scene must have been an affecting one, suggesting as it did the many similar occurrences in the Saviour's life upon earth; and in recalling the words of power which upon those occasions emanated from the Divine lips—"I will, be thou clean"—"Receive thy sight,"—"Take up thy bed," he must have longed for the gift of healing, if only for a few moments. And as his heart went out in sympathy for this poor people whose bodily ailments were but a faint type of their spiritual condition, is it any marvel that he should have sought to direct them as best he could to the Great Healer of men—to one who could do for them that which he was powerless to effect; and that in the effort to give expression to that desire, he should have found himself recounting to them in the very words of the Gospel, the wondrous story of the Word Made Flesh? To us his action seems eminently fitting, and one which should commend itself to every Christian. Yet, strange to say, it has been a fruitful occasion of contemptuous ridicule on the part of many who flatter themselves that they hold a purer faith than that

which animated the Breton captain, but who, we are nevertheless persuaded, would find considerable difficulty in following his example.[48]

Having recited the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, Cartier next offered up a prayer to the Almighty that it might please Him to make Himself known to this savage race. Then taking an Office book in his hand, he read aloud the whole of the Passion of Christ, the Indians listening with grave attention. He then distributed some small presents amongst them, showing a nice discrimination in their apportionment; which being done, he ordered his trumpeters to sound their instruments, greatly to the delight of the audience. This concluded the ceremony—the

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Note 48.—Mr. Kingsford, in his elaborate history of Canada, now going through the press, affords a marked example of how this act of Cartier is commonly misrepresented.

"Cartier was fed and caressed, even looked upon as a God and asked to perform miracles in healing the sick. Cartier tells us that he mumbled the opening words of St. John's Gospel, as he says: '*In principio,' &c.*" *Kingsford, History of Canada, Vol. I, p. 4*

This is all he has to say of the circumstance. It is sufficient, however, to convey the impression that Cartier essayed to pass himself off as a miracle-worker, and employed these words as the mystic formula of an incantation. Now this is quite erroneous, and it is difficult to see how any unprejudiced person reading the original account could fall into such an error. The following is Hakluyt's literal description of the scene:

". . . . . that done they brought before him diverse diseased men, some blinde, some cripple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and covered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched; for it seemed unto them that God was descended and come d wne from heaven to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and devotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint John, that is to say, in the beginning was the word; touching everyone that were diseased, (*faisant le signe de la Croix sur les pauvres malades*) praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receive Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Service-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word, that all the standers by might heare him; all which while this poore people kept silence, and were marvellously attentive, looking up to heaven and imitating us in gestures."

While we are aware that with some persons it is a received opinion that Catholics always "mumble" their devotions, we cannot help thinking, in view of the fact that the original narrative explicitly states that Cartier spoke in a "loud voyce" in reading the Gospel "word by word that all the standers by might heare him," Mr. Kingsford would have been justified in excepting the Breton captain from the general category. This is but a trivial matter, yet it shows how unfairly history can be written even from a 'non-sectarian' point of view.

French declining the proffered hospitality of the Indians, "because the meates had no savour at all of salt," drew off to return to their boats. But the resources of Hochelaga were not exhausted. As Cartier and his men were preparing to depart, the Indians persuaded him to ascend 'a great mountaine near to the City that is tilled round about, which we named Mount Roiall.' Thither the French accompanied by their Indian guides repaired, and clambering up its steep sides, beheld that splendid panorama which charms the eye of every beholder.

Changed indeed the picture is from that eventful day when Jacques Cartier first beheld it. The waving cornfields and the rude Indian village have long since disappeared, and in their place is the fair city of Montreal. But the broad river, and the smiling valley, and the distant mountains stand forth unchanged, and seem, as we muse upon the past, to speak to us of a day when Montreal, like Hochelaga, shall have given place to a new order of things.

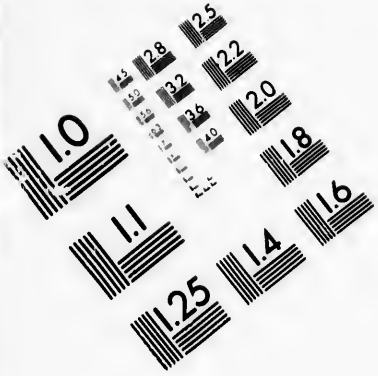
People are prone to speak of the view from Mount Royal as though everything worth seeing lay towards the south. On reaching the summit, one's first look naturally is over Montreal, and the prospect is so inviting that, in lingering on it, one is apt to forget to turn round, thereby losing much of what is to be seen. For the country lying to the north and north-west is more diversified in its character, and presents a somewhat bolder appearance than does the southern view.

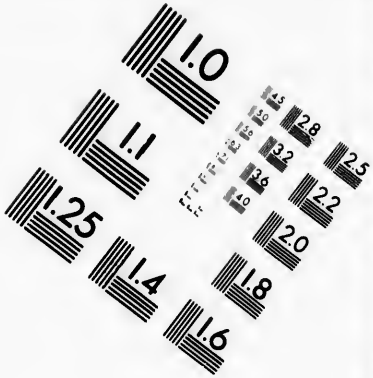
Cartier, not having the same inducement, made no such mistake. On reaching the summit his eye swept the St. Lawrence and quickly discerned the Lachine Rapids. The Indians informed him that there were three such falls in

the river, and that these having been passed, one might sail westward for three months without meeting with any obstruction. Then they pointed out to him the Ottawa river, and told him that, like the St. Lawrence, it came from the west—" we thought "—writes he—" it to be the river that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay," and their curiosity being aroused, they seem to have spent most of their time on the mountain top intently regarding the Ottawa, endeavouring all the while to extract from their guides such information respecting it, as the Indians were able or willing to impart. Considering that neither party understood the language of the other, the conversation must have been carried on under difficulties.

Cartier tells us that without any direct enquiry on his part, one of the Indians took in his hand the silver chain of the whistle that was about his neck, and the gilt handle of a dagger that hung by the side of one of his men, and pointing in the direction of the Ottawa, signified that both these metals came from that region. Now this could not have been true. The Indians were either hoaxing the gallant captain, or possibly they may have been endeavouring to tell him of the contrast between the silvery water of the St. Lawrence and the yellowish hue of the Ottawa, which is clearly seen at the confluence of the two rivers, where the waters, refusing to commingle, flow side by side for miles. They also told him of a fierce people—the *Agouionda*—dwelling to the north-west who, armed to the teeth and clad in armour made of osier, engaged habitually in internecine strife.

Long and intently did Cartier gaze north-westward, the idea of the passage to the Indies being, we may be sure,

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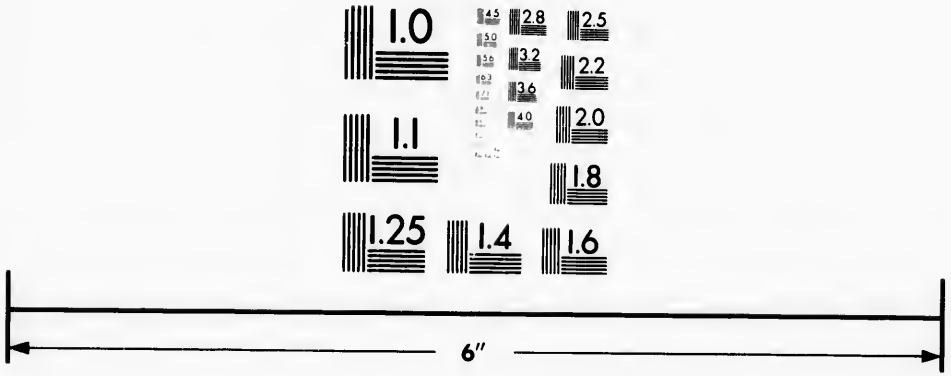



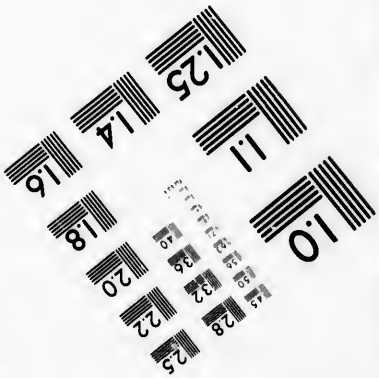


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foremost in his thoughts. We have often wondered if any prophetic vision passed before his eyes as he looked forth from the summit of Mount Royal. Perhaps he foresaw that, in the future, men dwelling where Hochelaga stood, would solve the problem that occupied his thoughts, and that a day would come when his dream should be realized, and the wealth of the Indies flow eastward over this very course—by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Having exhausted the information of their hosts, Cartier and his companions retired to their boats, accompanied by a large crowd who, very loath to see them depart, followed the retreating boats along the bank of the river for some distance. The inhabitants of Hochelaga seem to have been a simple minded people, largely given in a rude way to agricultural pursuits, though the fortification of their town and the fact that all the tribes along the river, down to and including "the Canadians"—*i.e.* the Stadaconé Indians—were subject to them, indicate that they were not wholly deficient in the art of war. We opine too, that the missing portion of the narrative of Cartier's third voyage would be found to contain passages not so wholly creditable to their peaceful or honourable instincts as is the record of this visit. We can only account for their extraordinary civility on this occasion by supposing, as indeed is evident, that they took the white men for beings of a supernatural order.

Retracing their lonely course down the river, the French reached their ship in safety on the 4th October where, we may be sure, they received a warm welcome from their anxious comrades. That day being spent in the narration of their adventures, on the 5th they departed for the port of Holy Cross. Passing through Lake St. Peter, on Thursday

the 7th instant they came abreast of St. Maurice river, named by them the river of Fouez, which, presumably because it came down from the mysterious country of 'Saguenay,' they resolved upon exploring. Planting a cross on the outermost island at the mouth of the river, they again left their ship, and with their boats pulled up the St. Maurice a considerable distance, but finding it getting very shallow, they wisely abandoned any idea of further search. Returning to the *Emerillon* they continued on their way, and reached the port of Holy Cross on the 11th inst., having been absent twenty-two days.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE SECOND VOYAGE (continued.)

Visit to Stadaconé.—Description thereof.—Trudamans.—Story of massacre.—The inhabitants of Stadaconé.—Their worship.—Habits and mode of living.—Tobacco described.—Esurgny.—Marvellous tales of the country of Saguenay.—Approach of winter.—Frost and snow.—French attacked by scurvy.—Their miserable condition.—Invocation of the Divine assistance.—Religious service.—The remedy found and applied.—Marvellous cure effected.—Approach of spring.—Preparations for return to France.—Abandonment of *la Petite Hermine*.—Suspicious behaviour of the savages.—Cartier's resolution taken to seize Donnacona and other Indians.—His action in so doing criticized.—Erection of Cross.—Formal possession taken of the country in the name of the King of France.—Seizure of chiefs.—Departure for home.—Arrival at St. Malo.

THEIR companions had not been idle in the interval, having erected along the river's bank a strong fortification built with stout timbers and mounted with cannon. Behind this enclosure, in the little river Lairet, they moored their ships, and quietly awaited the approach of winter. When, in 1608, Champlain visited the locality,[49] he found certain indications of previous habitation by white men —the ruins of a chimney, traces of a ditch, some cannon-balls, and other things, which led him to the conclusion that Jacques Cartier had wintered there. He says that these things were found " vne lieue dans la riuiere," meaning, no doubt, a league from the spot on which his dwelling stood.

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NOTE 49.—See appendix F.

The day following the return of the expedition from Hochelaga, Donnacona and his suite visited Cartier, expressing their pleasure at seeing him safely back again. Cartier taking them at their word, regaled them with food, "albeit" —says the old chronicle—"they had not deserved it." There is reason for thinking that during Cartier's absence, the Indians had not displayed towards those of the company who remained behind, the same cordiality which they manifested in the presence of his united force. Cartier, however, wisely determined upon taking no notice of what had been reported to him concerning their behaviour beyond employing every precaution against a sudden surprise. Accordingly, he accepted Donnacona's invitation "to come and see Canada," and the next day, accompanied by fifty of his best men, well armed, he crossed the river and approached Stadaconé. As he drew near the village, the inhabitants came forth to meet him, and forming in two lines, the men on one side and the women on the other, escorted him to their place of abode, having first received at his hands a few customary presents. Cartier describes the houses as being tolerably well built, and furnished with provisions for the approaching winter. He says nothing of fortifications, but mentions the fact of having been shown five scalps, and of being informed that they were taken from the '*Toudamani*,' or *Trudamans* (B.R.), whom Donnacona described as being "a people dwelling toward the South who continually doe warre against them." These people were probably the Iroquois, whom Champlain found occupying the territory now known as the western portion of the State of New York. They were the most ferocious of all the Indian tribes, and were long a terror to all the rest, especially to their

kindred, the Hurons, against whom they waged a war of extermination.

The following story, related by Donnacona to Cartier, and which we know to be true, seems to point to the identity of these *Trudamans* with the savage warriors of the Iroquois confederacy. Two years before, a party of Donnacona's people, two hundred in number, consisting of men, women and children, were on their way to [60]Gaspé: and while the whole party were asleep on an island in the great river, near the mouth of the Saguenay, they were assaulted by the *Trudamans*, who set fire to the place wherein they were, and either burned or butchered the whole number, except five, who made their escape. Now in the St. Lawrence, lying off Bic, is an island to-day known as "*Isle au massacre*," and on that island is a cave, and in that cave are quantities of human bones—of men, women, and children, which bear their ghastly testimony to the truth of Donnacona's story.

During the following month Cartier seems to have employed himself in instructing the Indians as well as he could concerning the christian idea of God. Their conception of the Deity seems to have been most meagre, the functions of their god Cudragny being limited to foretelling the weather, in which, as we have seen, he was not always successful. They informed Cartier that when they died, their spirits entered the stars, and descending in them to the horizon,

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NOTE 50.—The narrative says—"As they were going a warfaring in Hognedo" (Gaspé), which must be a misapprehension on the part of Cartier, for had they been on the warpath, they would not have been accompanied by their women and children. The Rev. Mr. DeCosta's account of this circumstance is very confused and inaccurate. He says that Cartier was shown eight scalps (sic), and told by Donnacona that they had been taken from their enemies, a company of whom, 200 in number, they had slain sometime before. What became of the remaining 192 scalps, Mr. DeCosta does not inform us.

passed thence to the happy hunting grounds of their fathers. As we already have had occasion to point out, Cartier told them of the true God and how that all men must believe in Him and be baptized. We have seen also how readily they acquiesced in Cartier's view of Cudragny, and how they accepted the Christian's God and asked for baptism, and the reply which Cartier made them.[51] It must be borne in mind that the interpreters, Taignoagny and Domagaya, were present at Cartier's side, and that they understood, in a measure at all events, the nature of the ceremony having, we are expressly told, seen many children baptized in France. This precludes the possibility of Cartier having endeavoured to deceive the Indians by stating what he did. The whole account seems to us inconsistent with the idea that any priests of the Catholic Church accompanied this expedition.

Cartier tells us of the Indian way of living, and of their food which consisted largely of maize and the non-indigenous vegetables used by the people of Hochelaga. He specially remarks a plant, with the first mention of which we English are wont to associate the name of Sir Walter Raleigh, and yet here is a description of the preparation and use of tobacco, written seventeen years before Raleigh was born.

"There groweth also," writes Cartier, "a certaine kind of herbe whereof in Sommer they make great provision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men use of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of

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Note 51.—Cartier's priests (if he had any) must have been of a very different stamp from Poutrincourt's missionary at Port Royal in 1610, who (wrongly no doubt) baptized 21 Indians without waiting for the latter to receive that instruction which the Catholic Church ordains shall precede the administration of this Sacrament. *Faillon Hist., &c., Vol. 1, p. 99.*

fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies with smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they never goe without some of it about them. We our selves have tryed the same smoke, and having put it in our mouthes, it seemeth almost as hot as Pepper."

Like the melons and cucumbers, the tobacco plant must have been imported from the tropics—as also their '*esurgny*' (wampum) which, we are told, "is the greatest and most preciousest riches they have in this world." When at Hochelaga, the Indians of that place told Cartier an improbable story about the way in which they got this "*esurgny*"—how it was found in the wounds of a dead body, which, after having been specially slashed for the purpose, was sunk "in the said river of Cornibotz" for ten or twelve hours, and how, when taken up, the small white shells were found in the gaping wounds. It is, however, but fair to the Hochelaga Indians to say that this is only Cartier's interpretation of their signs, which may have had some reference to diving merely and been wholly unconnected with ghastly corpses. Certain it is that the large shells from which the porcelain ornaments of the Indians were made, are found only on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and must have been obtained by barter with the intermediate tribes. Donnacona himself supplies us with some information on this head, which goes to show that they had intercourse with southern tribes. Speaking of the place where Cartier had left the *Emerillon* on his way up to Hochelaga, he told the French of the existence of the Richelieu river, and how by following up that river, it would bring them after a month's sail, to a land where there was no ice or snow, and where oranges, almonds, nuts and apples abounded. "I take this

place," says Cartier, "to be toward Florida," which word in his mouth had a very wide application. It is quite probable that the Indians then inhabiting Canada were acquainted with the water route by way of the Richelieu, Lake Champlain and the Hudson, to the sea, and by it they may have carried on a certain rude commerce with the southern tribes. It is, however, when Donnacona comes to speak of the "countrey of Saguenay"—that mysterious region which stretched indefinitely north and west—that the old chief allowed his imagination completely to get the better of him. Wonderful tales of a white people clad in civilized garments, dwelling in towns, abounding in gold and rubies, were poured into the willing ears of the French. There were also, so Donnacona averred, a race of men having only one leg—others who lived without eating—in short there seemed to be no end of marvels in that extraordinary country.

With such conversations the autumn days passed pleasantly enough.[52] But winter was at hand, and fell upon the French with a rigour and a mercilessness of which they had had no previous experience. Soon the river froze across and their ships were caught fast in the ice. Then came the snow, falling, falling, without intermission, and whirling in great drifts around their little fort, buried it almost out of sight. The water in their drinking vessels froze, much to their inconvenience. In the midst of this biting cold, they were amazed to see the Indians crossing the ice and, wading through drifts, come to their ships stark naked—"which thing seemeth incredible to them that have not seen it."

An evil, however, far worse than ice or snow, was at hand.

Note 52.—See appendix G.

In the first days of December the French noticed that the visits of the Indians grew less frequent, and they wondered why. They soon learned. The scurvy had broken out in Stadaconé and sickness and death were everywhere among them. Soon it spread to the ships, and man after man of the French went down before the loathsome disease till, by the middle of February, out of the hundred and ten persons composing the company, eight were dead and more than fifty very ill, while there were not ten of the whole number entirely free from the scourge. What made the calamity the more distressing was the fact that it was to the French an unknown sickness—"a strange and cruell disease," of which they knew neither the cause nor the remedy. To such a pitiful condition were they reduced, that they had not strength even to bury their dead, but hid the bodies under the snow; neither was there any one to wait upon the sick, for almost every man, except the captain, "whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health," was ill.

Could men be placed in a situation more distressing than that in which these poor fellows now found themselves? Thousands of miles from home and friends, in the heart of a boundless wilderness in which they were the first of Europeans to set foot: fast bound in snow and ice; surrounded by savages who had on more than one occasion given equivocal proofs of friendship: and worse than all, assailed by a mortal distemper which had already killed twenty-five of their band, and which threatened the lives of every one of them—their condition was truly desperate, and such as to extinguish all hope in the most sanguine breast.

Then it was in their dire extremity that Cartier had recourse in an especial manner to the Throne of Grace. Or-

daining that everybody should prepare himself by prayer, he caused a statue of the Blessed Virgin[53] to be placed against a tree, a stone's throw from the fort, to which a solemn procession was organized—all who were well enough taking part therein—chaunting the penitential psalms and litanies, and imploring the Mother of God to intercede with her Divine Son for the lives of his servants. "That day," says the chronicle, "Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde," and Mr. Parkman takes advantage of the record of this circumstance to indulge in one of those unworthy sneers against the faith and worship of the Ancient Church which in our judgment are blots upon the pages of his brilliant works. "The Holy Virgin," says Mr. Parkman, "deigned no other response." And yet he goes on in the same page to record how, in a few days, this whole company of—to use his own words—woebegone men, "who, haggard, reeling, bloated with their maladies, moved in procession" to the Virgin's shrine, were marvellously delivered from their sickness and restored every man of them to perfect health. It is true that Mr. Parkman does not make the contrast between the sickness and the recovery quite so marked as we have written it: "the distemper relaxed its hold," is the way in which he relates the cure. But the *Brief Recit*, to which he has faithfully adhered in his description of the malady, states with respect to the cure "*Tout incontinent qu'ilz en eurent beu, ilz eurent l'aduantage qui se trouua estre vng vray & euident myracle. Car de toutes maladies dequoy ils estoiēt entachez, apres en auoir beu deux ou trois foys, recouurerent santé & guarison.*"

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Note 53.—Hakluyt says, "and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set upon a tree," &c.

To our mind there could not be, without miraculous intervention, a more direct answer to prayer. Let us describe the manner in which it came about. The service was over. Humbly kneeling in the snow around the sacred sign, the little band had, in the burning words of the Psalmist, implored the Divine compassion, and devoutly sought the loving intercession of the great Mother of God. Then slowly and painfully they wended their way back to the ships, only to learn the sad news that another of their company had succumbed to the great enemy of all. Their condition was truly desperate, and most of all to be pitied was their gallant captain, to whom this period must have been one of supreme anxiety. For on him fell the charge of all, and to him they all looked for that relief which, alas, he was powerless to render. But the God whom in health and strength Cartier ever delighted to honour, had not forgotten him in his sore need. One day as he paced to and fro on the ice outside the fort, unwilling, like Hagar of old, to see his companions die before his eyes, he saw some Indians from Stadaconé approaching, among whom he recognized Domagaya. Now this man had been very ill with scurvy a few days before. What then was Cartier's astonishment to see him in health and strength! Eagerly did he seek the cause of this wonderful recovery, which Domagaya informed him was to be found in the leaves and sap of a certain tree, called by the Indians *Ameda*, procurable near by. Cartier asked him if he would direct him to this tree adding, in order to conceal from the Indians the knowledge of the inroads the disease had made in his company, that he wanted it to cure one of his men who had imprudently crossed the river and contracted the disease in 'Canada.'

Domagaya, who seems all along to have been a good hearted fellow so long as his companion Taignoagny was not at his elbow, at once sent two women to bring a supply of this tree, which was probably the white spruce. The French used it as directed, boiling the bark and leaves together, drinking copiously of the extract, and using the substance as a poultice. In five or six days "it wrought so wel, that if all the physicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not have done so much in one yere, as that tree did in six dayes, for it did so prevaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God recovered their health."

This recovery is the more remarkable when we consider that the remedy failed in its efficacy in after years. Under Roberval at Cap Rouge in 1542, and Champlain at Port Royal in 1605, numbers died of scurvy, though they must have been familiar with the story of Cartier's experience, and have tried his cure in vain. We may be quite sure, whatever view modern thought may take upon the subject, that Cartier and his companions were not slow to ascribe their wonderful recovery to the special intervention of the Most High God, and that a few days later witnessed another procession to the Virgin's shrine, where their feelings of joy and gratitude found vent in that grand hymn of praise which, from the time of St. Ambrose, has ever been the supreme expression of public thanksgiving among Christian peoples. Many a time since then has the *Te Deum* ascended from the shores of the great river of Canada. Often have we ourselves heard the joyous shout not far from the spot in which we are now interested : but never we suspect, not even in moments of exultation born

of great military triumph, have the sublime words been chaunted with deeper feeling or with greater cause, than on that winter's day when Cartier's band of gallant Frenchmen, amid the snow and ice, poured forth their hearts in gratitude to God for deliverance from a dreadful death.

We have dwelt at some little length upon the religious aspect of this occurrence, because we are engaged in the consideration of the life of a man to whom all human affairs had a religious side, but we must not omit to record that Cartier, while ever recognizing the over-ruling providence of God, was equally sensible of the fact that God helps those who help themselves. Possessed of a strong, practical, common-sense mind, he was unceasing in his efforts to combat the disease which was making such havoc in his company. When Philip Rougemont died he ordered a *post mortem* to be held, in the hope that he might thereby learn something of the nature of the malady which baffled all their efforts.

In the midst of his solicitude for the sick, he never lost sight of the responsibility for the general safety of the company which rested upon him. Being fearful lest the Indians might suspect the true reason for the stillness which reigned about the ships, and seize upon the opportunity to assault them, Cartier would direct two or three of the least feeble of his men to hang about the outside of the fort, giving the impression that they were idling their time. He would then suddenly appear, and in a loud voice order them into the fort, telling them, in the hearing of the Indians, that there was much to be done inside and it behoved them not to waste their time. To give an air of probability to this, he would cause those of his men who were not prostrate, to make as much noise as they could inside the fort,

with hammers, sticks, &c., in order to deceive the Indians into thinking that they were busily engaged, which would account for their non-appearance. All this the brave fellow did at a time when his men "were so oppressed and grieved with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope ever to see France againe," but in which his own stout heart never for an instant quailed.

With returning health and strength came welcome indications that the end of the long winter was at hand, and as the days grew longer and the sun more powerful, we can imagine the delight with which the weary prisoners looked forward to the prospect of seeing sunny France again.

At length the ice and snow gave up the battle, and the ships, free once more, moved out of their winter quarters—that is two of them—for the diminution of the company's numbers compelled the abandonment of *'la Petite Hermine,'* whose remains, after reposing for 307 years, were dug up in 1843. The approach of spring brought renewed activity to the inhabitants of Stadaconé, whom Cartier continued to view with increasing distrust. This growing unfriendliness on their part was heightened by the circumstance of Cartier having bestowed the dismantled ship upon the people of Sidatin,[54] a neighboring friendly band who frequented the company of the French, in order that they might have the nails out of her, which the savages greatly prized. In this occurrence we think we see an explanation of the fact of the remains of *la Petite Hermine* having been found in the

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NOTE 54.—Cartier mentions four 'peopled townes' on the banks of the St. Lawrence, lying to the eastward of Stadaconé—"Araste or Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth upon a hill," (possibly Cap Tourmente) and "Seitadin" or "Sidatin" —the latter being nearest to Stadaconé; "under which towne toward the North the river and port of the holy cross is, where we staied from 15 of September, untill the 16th (6th ?) May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we have said before." The latter sentence is of itself sufficient to identify their stopping place.

the *ruisseau* St. Michel instead of, as one would naturally suppose, in the little river Lairet.[55] The people of Sidatin were in the habit of mingling freely with the French—"*alloient & venoient entour nous.*" B.R.—and the latter when preparing to leave, probably found them a great nuisance. In giving them the old ship, therefore, it is not unlikely Cartier may have stipulated that they should take her out of the Lairet and extract the nails elsewhere, and no place would be more suitable for this purpose than the *ruisseau* St. Michel, where she would be stranded at low tide.[56]

In the latter part of the winter, Donnacona, accompanied by Taignoagny and others, set out on a hunt, giving the French to understand that they would be absent onl ya fortnight, instead of which they stayed away more than two months. This aroused the suspicions of Cartier, who interpreted their prolonged absence to mean that they were endeavouring to raise the surrounding country against him. His fears were partially confirmed by the appearance shortly afterwards of many strange faces in the Indian town; "divers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to see."

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NOTE 55.—See appendix F.

NOTE 56.—The writer confesses to some misgivings with respect to the genuineness of the remains found in the *ruisseau* St. Michel, generally supposed to be those of the *Petite Hermine*. In the first place they were not found in the spot where Cartier wintered. We have endeavoured to account for this discrepancy, but there is a more serious difficulty in the way. Cartier, as we have seen, tells us that he bestowed his dismantled vessel upon certain Indians 'in order that they might have the old nails out of it,' (*pour auoir les viel cloud*—B. R.) which, to a people amongst whom iron up to that period had been unknown, would possess great value. We may reasonably infer therefore that whatever else they might have left, the savages drew every nail and bolt from the hulk. Yet in the account of the discovery of the remains in the *ruisseau* St. Michel, published in the *Quebec Gazette* of the 30th August 1843, we read that "The vessel had been built of large grained oak, which was mostly in a good state of preservation, although discoloured, *and the iron spikes and bolts were still strong.*"

The writer would be only too glad to see this objection satisfactorily accounted for.

Cartier being apprized by Domagaya of what was transpiring in Stadaconé, thought it expedient to send two of his company thither, in order to reconnoitre. Accordingly, he despatched Jehan Poullet, for whom the Indians had evinced a special regard,[57] and his own servant. These two entered Stadaconé, ostensibly as bearers of certain presents to Donnacona, but the wary old savage was on his guard and, feigning illness, declined to receive them. The envoys thus repulsed, went to Taignoagny's abode, which they were surprised to find filled with strangers. Taignoagny, who seemed disconcerted at their sudden call, showed himself desirous of getting his visitors back to their ships as soon as possible, refusing to allow them to enter any of the other houses. To make sure of them going home direct he accompanied them half-way himself. He took advantage of the occasion to send a message by them to Cartier, to the effect that it would be a source of satisfaction to Donnacona and himself if he would seize and carry into France a certain chief named Agouna, whom he represented as being a turbulent spirit and a source of discord in the community. We shall find that this same Agouna succeeded Donnacona in his kingly office, and we strongly suspect that, in making the request he did, Taignoagny was speaking largely in his own interest, evidently regarding Agouna as a rival to the 'Throne' to which he himself aspired.

Taignoagny's desire was duly reported to Cartier who, reflecting on the number of strange Indians, that were everywhere prowling about, and being wholly in the dark as to their designs, concluded that it was high time to depart on

Note 57.—From the prominence given in the narrative to this name, it seems not unlikely that Jehan Poullet may have had some connection with the authorship of the *Brief Recit*.

the homeward voyage. He had been asked to take an Indian with him, and the proposal commended itself to his judgment, but he would choose his man. He and his companions could give testimony before the French court of immense rivers, of a boundless wilderness, of a rigorous climate, and a savage people; but what of the mysterious country which abounded in gold and rubies and other precious stones? That country where dwelt a white race, clothed in the garments of civilized men—and of weird regions where nature played all sorts of tricks with the human frame—who but the Lord Donnacona, who had seen all these wonders? and the interpreters—they too were necessary to his purpose—they too should accompany him. And so he resolved to anticipate his crafty foes, by seizing the ringleaders and carrying them off to France.

This "prettie prancke," as old Hakluyt calls it, has been strongly animadverted upon by certain writers, as leaving a lasting stain upon Cartier's reputation. Now, our object in this paper is to depict Cartier just as he was, and to record his deeds as we find them written down. We have no desire to represent him as being on all occasions absolutely free from blame, and therefore we frankly admit that his action in kidnapping these Indians, viewed apart from the age in which he lived, and the special circumstances of the case, was a cruel and treacherous act. But what right have we so to judge of any man's actions? Who in history, we should like to know, could afford to have his deeds tested by the rigid application of an abstract morality? In considering questions of this kind, we are surely bound to take into account the very conditions which, in our opinion, have to be eliminated, in order to acquiesce in a condemnation

of Cartier's action. We have to remember, in the first place, that in the times of which we write, it was the common practice of all discoverers, in returning home, to bring with them specimens of the native inhabitants of the countries which they visited. We have seen that Cabot brought three men from America, and there is no reason to think that he consulted their feelings beforehand in the matter. So also Aubert brought over a savage, while Corte-Real seized fifty in order to sell them into slavery. Cartier in taking Donnacona and the rest, merely followed the custom of the period, with this important difference, that whereas most of the early adventurers treated the natives with much cruelty, and in many instances robbed and slaughtered them by hundreds, Jacques Cartier paid several visits to Canada, spent at least two winters in the country, surrounded by savages who bore him no good will, and yet, during all that time, we never hear of him shedding one drop of human blood, or taking from one solitary Indian anything that belonged to him, against his will, except in these two seizures at Gaspé and Quebec, on both of which occasions he is declared to have treated his captives with much kindness and consideration.

Let us contrast his conduct in this regard with that of his contemporaries,[58] say Menendez or Pizarro, or even our own Drake or Hawkins, and so far from condemning the Breton voyager for cruelty or injustice towards the red man, we shall stand amazed at the humane and generous course

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Note 58—Even in the cases of Cartier's immediate successors, Poutrincourt and Champlain, we find them scarcely landed on the shores of the New World before engaging with the Indians in deadly strife. It is only fair, however, to add that their conflict seems to have been undertaken in self defence, and that in their general treatment of the savages they closely imitated Cartier's spirit of kindness.

which he adopted towards the Indians with whom he came in contact, and which honourably distinguished him from among the explorers of that rude age, in whom as we have said, consideration for the feelings of the native races had, in the great majority of instances, absolutely no place.

On the 3rd May, being the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, Cartier "for the solemnitie of the day" caused to be erected a cross thirty-five feet in height, on which was hung a shield bearing the lilies of France, and underneath the inscription "FRANCISCUS PRIMUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX REGNAT."

Nothing now remained but to secure those of the Indians whom they had resolved to bear away with them. This was accomplished by means of a stratagem, involving, we are sorry to say, a certain amount of falsehood. The artific was successful, and on the evening of the day that witnessed the planting of the cross, Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaya and some others[59] were safely under guard on board the ships.

The savages, apparently overawed by the boldness of the action, offered no resistance; Donnacona allowing himself to be comforted by certain presents, including two frying pans of copper, and by the promise made him by Cartier

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NOTE 59.—It is not quite clear how many Indians were seized on this occasion. The account first says that Cartier "straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia," (who appears to have been privy to the affair) "& two more of the chiefest whom he pointed unto." Then a little later—"Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call unto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and took the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take."

Hakluyt, in his opening chapter of the narrative of the third voyage, says the number of the Indians brought over by Cartier on the second voyage was ten. Now four of these he had before this seizure, for at the outset Donnacona presented him with two boys and a girl; and the Ochelay chief with a girl. We have no account of any further seizures or presentations. It would therefore appear that on this occasion he captured six persons, to wit, Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaya, and three more.

that he should return to Stadaconé within ten or twelve moons.

On Saturday the 6th May, 1536, the ships weighed anchor and departed from their winter abode. They lay to that night a little below the Island of Orleans, on which Cartier had already bestowed its present name. The news of the capture had gone before them down the river, but the scattered bands, dumbfounded at the astounding intelligence, made no attempt at a rescue. Indeed they do not appear at any time to have been a fighting race, which makes Cartier's action in seizing their leaders appear the less excusable. At Isle aux Coudres, which marked the eastern extremity of his kingdom, Donnacona addressed a number of 'Canadians' from the deck of the vessel, assuring them that he was kindly treated, and that in twelve moons he would come again and resume his sway over them. This announcement greatly relieved his sorrowing subjects who, as a parting act of homage, presented their captive monarch with some bundles of skins, and "a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay." Then the sails were spread, and Donnacona looked upon his dominions for the last time.

They stopped a while at Isle aux Lièvres, (*l'ysle es lieures* B. R.) so named by them from the quantity of hares they found thereon. Detained by contrary winds, they remained in the vicinity until the 21st May, when the weather becoming fair, they had a prosperous run, reaching Brion's Island by way of the strait between Anticosti and Gaspé, "which passage," says Cartier, "untill that time had not bene discovered"—though he came very near to discovering it himself on the first voyage. Sighting Cape North, then known

as Cape Lorraine, they spent some days along the Cape Breton shore. They then crossed to the Newfoundland coast, touching at the Island of St. Pierre. Here they met with many French ships engaged in the cod fishery, and remained a week in their company, entertaining the fishermen, we have no doubt, with the story of their adventures. On the 16th instant they left St. Pierre and proceeded eastward to a port then called Rognosco—(*Rougnoze*, B. R.) now, Trépassés harbour, where they took in wood and water for the ocean passage, and (strange to say) left one of their boats. Upon Monday, the 19th June, they left this harbour, and arrived safely at St. Malo on the 6th July, " by the grace of God," says the quaint old narrative, "to whom we pray, here ending our Navigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant us his grace and favour, and in the end bring us to the place of everlasting felicitie. Amen."

## CHAPTER V.

# THE THIRD VOYAGE.

Report to the King.—Delay in renewal of Commission.—Probable cause thereof.—Third voyage determined on.—Roberval.—Departure of Cartier on third voyage.—Arrival at Stadaconé.—Interview with Agona.—Selection of Cap Rouge as wintering place.—Departure of two vessels for France.—Charlesbourg-Royal.—Cartier goes up to Hochelaga.—The Lord of Hochelay.—The Saults.—Dissimulation of the Indians.—Return to Charlesbourg-Royal.—Preparations for its defence.—Abrupt termination of narrative.—Departure of Roberval from Rochelle.—Meeting with Cartier in harbour of St. John's, Newfoundland.—Cartier returns to France.—Probable reasons for so doing.—Query, As to date of Roberval's sailing?

THE King graciously received Cartier and heard from his own lips the story of his adventures, of which he afterwards commanded him to make a written report.[60] His Majesty also showed much interest in the captive Indians, with whom he had some converse about the wonders of Saguenay, specially charging Cartier to see to their religious instruction.[61]

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NOTE 60.—See appendix H.

NOTE 61.—That this commission was faithfully executed, the following excerpt from the Baptismal registers of St. Malo is evidence:

"Ce jour, Notre Dame, 25e mars de l'an 1538*, furent baptizés trois sauvages hommes, des parties du Canada, prins au dit pays, par honneste homme Jacques Cartier, capitaine pour le Roy notre Sire, pour desconvrir les dites terres," &c.

*or 1539. See note 7, p. 27. In 1539 Easter fell on the 6th April.

The baptism of the remainder followed in due course. To one Jacques Cartier himself stood sponsor, while to Donnacona was given the name of Francis—this on the authority of Faillon.

Thevet—*Cosmographie Universelle, Vol. II, p. 1013*—speaking of Donnacona, whom he says he knew, adds—"lequel est mort en France du temps du grand Roy Françoys, parlant assez bien nostre langue, & y ayant demeuré quatre ou cinq ans, deceda bon chrestien," &c.

The same writer says of Cartier, *ib. p. 1009*, that he was "l'vn de mes meilleurs amys," and again, that he lived five months with him in his house at St. Malo.

Cartier doubtless looked for an immediate renewal of his commission, but he had arrived home at a time most inopportune for obtaining the royal consideration of his plans for the future. The strife between France and Spain, which had been steadily augmenting during his absence, was then at its height, and in the summer of 1536 France, invaded from opposite quarters by Charles V., became the battle ground of the contending powers. At such a time, all peaceful projects were necessarily thrust into the background, and Cartier's promise to Donnacona that he should see Canada again in a twelvemonth (which we have no reason to believe was not made in good faith) remained unfulfilled. There was another reason not calculated to stimulate interest on the part of those in authority in New France. No gold or silver had been found there, and in those days a foreign country which did not produce the precious metals was but lightly regarded. Chabot too, Cartier's patron and friend, was no longer influential at court. Altogether, these causes seem sufficient to account for the delay of five years which elapsed between Cartier's second and third voyages, without ascribing to that navigator a desire to discourage further expeditions to Canada, by dwelling on the hardships he had experienced in that country. This supposition, due to some misapprehension on the part of Lescarbot, seems to be quite unfounded.

At length, the truce of 1538 gave Francis leisure to bestow his attention upon Cartier's discoveries, and to peruse, perhaps for the first time, the latter's detailed account of the last voyage. He appears to have been impressed with the relation, and though it is evident that neither king nor court apprehended the magnitude of the discovery, His

Majesty resolved upon assuming sovereignty over his new dominions, and to this end determined upon sending thither Jean François de la Rocque, Sieur de Roberval, as his vicegerent in the new world. By Letters Patent dated 15th January, 1540, Roberval was constituted Lord of Norembega, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpunt, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos.[62] He was furnished with *45,000 livres* and authorized to collect a sufficient number of persons suitable for the effective prosecution of the enterprise. This latter instruction seems to have proved somewhat difficult of fulfilment for, on the 7th February following, fresh letters were issued, empowering him to search the prisons of Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen, and Dijon, and to draw therefrom such convicts lying under sentence of death as he might require to complete his crews, excluding from his choice only such criminals as had been adjudged guilty of heresy, high treason, and counterfeiting.

Such an expedition required as its guide a man familiar not only with the localities to be visited, but also with the means of reaching them. There was only one person in all France possessed of these qualifications, and upon Jacques Cartier accordingly the King's choice fell. By Letters Patent dated the 17th October, 1540,[63] Francis, confiding in the loyalty, capacity, wisdom and experience of his trusty and well be-

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Note 62.—The Commission of Roberval was entitled "*Lettres Patentes accordées à Jehan François de la Roque Sr de Roberval.*" In it he is simply styled "*notre Lieutenant-General, Chef Ducteur et Cappitaine de ladicte enterprinse.*" The Letters Patent and the Commission seem to have been separate instruments.

Norembega, Norumbega, or Arambec, was, in Ramusio's map, the country embraced within Nova Scotia, southern New Brunswick, and a part of Maine.

The King seems to have considered 'Canada,' 'Hochelaga' and 'Saguenay' as being distinct countries.

Note 63.—See appendix I.

loved servant, constituted and appointed Cartier Captain General and Master Pilot over all the ships destined to take part in the expedition.

Foremost among the objects of the voyage, as set forth in the document, was the propagation of the Christian religion among the heathens of the New World, and then rather incongruously follows the like authority given to Roberval, to draw his following from the thieves and murderers who filled the gaols. The relation in which Cartier and Roberval stood towards each other on this expedition is somewhat undefined, and must, for this reason, have been unsatisfactory to both. From the outset their powers seem to have conflicted. Cartier's commission authorized him to equip five vessels for the voyage. Of the *45,000 livres* furnished to Roberval to defray the cost of the expedition, Cartier got *30,000 livres* at the beginning, and Roberval appears to have paid him at a later stage, *1,300 livres* more. The King also gave him the little vessel *l'Émerillon* for the voyage. With the *30,000 livres* he had to buy or charter four ships and arm and equip the five. The King earnestly impressed upon both Roberval and Cartier the inexpediency of delay, charging them to sail not later than the 15th April following, if at all possible. The command was a wise one. Delay had already militated against the success of the expedition, which was prejudiced by the deaths of all the Indians brought over to France, save one little girl. The change had been too great for them, and weary of waiting for the promised return to their own country, they had all died in exile, having first embraced the Catholic religion, and received the Sacrament of Baptism.

That this unfortunate occurrence was regarded in its true

light by those whom it most concerned, is apparent from the opening words of Hakluyt's fragmentary account—the only record known to exist of Cartier's third voyage.

"And *albeit* his Majestie was advertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were tenne in number) saving one little girle about tenne yeeres old, *yet* he resolved to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe." &c.

No one, we fancy, appreciated the importance of the deaths of these men more fully than did the Captain General.

As upon previous occasions, Cartier's preparations were made at St. Malo. It does not appear to have been possible to meet the King's desire by sailing on the 15th April, but a month later found the five ships riding at anchor in the harbour of St. Malo in all readiness to depart, saving that the artillery and certain supplies ordered by Roberval had not arrived. After waiting some little time for them, Roberval determined upon allowing Cartier to sail in advance, while he proceeded to Honfleur, whither he thought his supplies must have gone, and there get ready a ship or two with which to follow later in the season.

Meanwhile these preparations created some stir, not merely in the localities in which they were going forward, but even beyond the confines of France itself. Men asked themselves to what end were so many ships being fitted out at such expense, and an expedition placed under the command of a person so considerable as '*le petit roi de Vimeu*,' for so Francis was accustomed to style Roberval. Reports of what was transpiring reached Madrid losing, we may be sure, nothing by the way, and Spanish jealousy taking alarm at the bare thought of any interference with the monopoly

claimed by that kingdom in the new world, a spy was despatched from the court of the most Catholic King, with orders to visit the French ports and enquire diligently into the truth of the strange stories that were everywhere rife. The report came back to the effect that the French were bound for Baccalaos, and the Spaniards, learning that their interests were not likely to be imperilled, breathed easy once more.

On the 23rd May, 1541,[64] Cartier departed from the port of St. Malo on his third voyage to the western world. He had with him five ships fully equipped and provisioned for two years, one of which was *l'Emerillon*, presented to him for the purpose, as we have seen, by the King. From a subsequent audit of his accounts we find that another was called '*l'Hermine*'—probably *la Grande Hermine* of the second voyage. We are not informed as to the others, save that the united tonnage of the five amounted to 400 tons. Inasmuch as *la Grande Hermine* was of 120 tons burden, and *l'Emerillon* was of 40 tons, the other three ships would average 80 tons each. The voyage was long and stormy, and it was not until late in June, that the ships, which had been separated by the tempest, arrived at Carpunt in Newfoundland. Their supply of water ran short on the voyage, and the cattle which they were bringing over to stock the new country, suffered severely in consequence.

Cartier seems to have waited for Roberval in the harbour of Carpunt, which apparently had been appointed the

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NOTE 64.—Hakluyt's version puts the date of sailing on the 23rd May, 1540, but this is clearly erroneous. Cartier's Letters Patent are dated the 17th and 20th October, 1540, besides which, there are extant certain receipts in connection with the expedition, signed at St Malo by Roberval and Cartier on 17th May, 1541. Further, the ecclesiastical records show that on the 11th April, 1541, Cartier stood sponsor in the Cathedral Church of St. Malo for a daughter of Charles Le Huchestel and Denise des Granches, to whom was given the name Jacquette.

rendezvous, some six weeks. At length, impatient of delay, he determined upon going forward to his destination without him, which he did, and succeeded in bringing his five ships safely to anchor in the harbour of Holy Cross on the 23rd August—three months from the day he had left St. Malo.

As of old, boats put out from the shore, filled with Indians of all ages and sexes. Demonstrations of welcome were indulged in, and then came the inevitable enquiry "Where is Donnacona?" Cartier promptly answered that Donnacona was dead and that his body rested in the earth in France, but, apprehensive of the effect which the whole truth might have upon his questioners, he added the falsehood that the rest had married and become great lords and would not return to their native country. An ominous silence succeeded Cartier's speech; all save Agona, upon whom Donnacona's mantle had fallen, evincing profound grief at hearing of the death of their lord. Agona (or Agouna), it will be remembered, was the name of the turbulent chief whom Taignoagny had asked Cartier to kidnap on the preceding voyage. Taignoagny's apprehensions with regard to Agona's ambition and power had evidently been realized, for there is little doubt that the successor of Donnacona was none other than his ancient enemy, though Taignoagny, poor fellow, was spared the mortification of beholding his rival's triumph. Agona received the news of Donnacona's death, apparently with great equanimity, for according to Hakluyt "The said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches; and I think he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Governour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona." At the conclusion of the conference, Agona's demonstrations of friendship became more

marked. Taking from his head the wreath of *esurgny*, which was the symbol of his dignity, and from his wrists the bracelets he wore, he put them upon Cartier, with many signs of amity and good will, which, says the chronicle, "was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared."[65]

For some reason--it may have been on account of the gloomy associations connected with his sojourn on the banks of the St. Charles—Cartier determined upon mooring his vessels and establishing his defences elsewhere. After a short reconnoisance with his boats above Stadaconé, he selected the entrance to a small river about four leagues beyond 'Canada,' as being more commodious, and affording greater advantages than did his former abode. The spot chosen was in all probability Cap Rouge, the distance from Stadaconé given by Cartier being, as usual, too great.

On the 26th August he caused all his ships to be brought up to the entrance of this little river, in which he placed three of them, leaving the remaining two out in the main river in readiness to return to France with letters to the King, informing him of their proceedings and of the non-arrival of Roberval. By the 2nd September they had unloaded their supplies, and erected a fortification, mounted with cannon, for the protection of the three vessels destined to remain in the country. This being done, the two ships, the one commanded by Macé Jalobert, Cartier's brother-in-law, and the other by Etienne Noël, his nephew, departed for home.[66]

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NOTE 65.—These expressions "as afterward it wel appeared" and "as we understood afterward" (page 121) seem to us to afford a tolerably clear indication of what transpired at Charlesbourg-Royal during the succeeding winter, the record of which is now no doubt mouldering in the recesses of some secret depository of ancient manuscripts in France. We can only hope that, like the *Relation Originale* of the first voyage, it may be unearthed some day.

NOTE 66.—From other sources it appears that Jalobert and Noël carried with

The next thing was to make an examination of the surrounding country, with the fertility of which they were more than pleased, the trees being pronounced finer than anything they had before known, though the grape vines, which grew in rich profusion between them, did not yield a fruit "so kind as those of France, because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord." "To bee short," says Cartier, "it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire." Here he set twenty men to work, who in a day cleared an acre and a half of ground. This patch they sowed with cabbage, lettuce, and turnip seed, which sprang up in a week. On the summit of the cliff which overhung their ships, they built another fort "to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe, as well by the great as by this small river." A flight of steps cut in the rock led up to the higher fortification, near which flowed a clear spring of water. On this cliff they picked up shining quartz crystals supposed by them to be diamonds, and along the shore glittering scales of mica, "as thicke as a mans nayle," which they mistook for gold.

Scarcely had the forts been built and things got in order at Charlesbourg-Royal, for so the establishment was grandly named after Charles, Duke of Orleans, son of the French King, than the restless spirit of the commander prompted him to embark on an expedition to Hochelaga. The stories of Donnacona had evidently made a profound impression

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them the news of the death of Thomas Fromont, *dit* de la Bonille, who was Master of *la Grande Hermine* on the second voyage. He is said to have been Cartier's right arm. Where, or under what circumstances, he met with his death is unknown, though as he left St. Malo with Cartier in May, 1541, and the ships which bore the sad news sailed from Charlesbourg-Royal on the 2nd September, he probably died on the voyage over.

upon him, and he would fain know more of the mysterious region which stretched north and west. In particular, the recollection of the "great and swift fall of water" he had seen from the top of Mount Royal haunted his memory, so much so that he could not endure to lead a life of inactivity, watching his turnips grow at Charlesbourg-Royal. His plan was to go up the river and reconnoitre, returning before the cold weather set in, and to spend the winter months in making preparations for an extended exploration during the following summer. Accordingly, after submitting his plans to a council of his officers, Cartier, accompanied by Martine de Painpoint and other gentlemen, set out on the 7th September, with two boats, well manned and appointed, "to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the Saults of water which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay," leaving the Vicomte de Beaupré in command at Charlesbourg-Royal."

On the way he paid a visit to his old acquaintance, the Lord of Hochelay, who had presented him with the little girl now serving as his interpreter. Here he left two boys in order that they might learn the language of the country. He also made the chief's heart glad by the gift of "a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles, &c., whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to rejoyce."

Impelled by fair winds, they reached on the 11th instant the foot of the first fall, two leagues distant from which was the town of Tutonaguy. It is somewhat singular that, after leaving Charlesbourg-Royal, Cartier does not mention Hochelaga by name, nor could anyone tell from his account of this expedition that he had ever been in the neighbourhood

of the falls before. Yet from his description, they must have been the Lachine rapids, and the town of Tutonaguy was in all probability Hochelaga. Nothing more clearly illustrates the ephemeral character of these Indian villages, than the circumstance that the fortified town of Hochelaga should have lost its name in the short space of six years.[67]

Their attempt to row up against the rapids having naturally proved unsuccessful, they went ashore, where they found a beaten path running westward along the bank of the river in the direction of the second fall. Soon they came to an Indian village, where they were favourably received, and on announcing their desire to surmount the rapids, they were conducted along the river-side by four young men, until they came to another village, abreast of the second fall. From the Indians they learned that the third fall was not far distant Having gathered this information, (which, by the way, had been given to Cartier by the people of Hochelaga several years before) they returned to their boats, about which they found assembled a crowd of Indians to the number of about four hundred. These savages seemed pacifically inclined. "But," sagely adds the old chronicle, "a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of joy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us"—and then follow the significant words—"*as we understood afterward.*[68] A time evidently came when these people were to see in white men nothing but flesh and blood like themselves.

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NOTE 67.—M Faillon tells us in his *Histoire de la Colonie Française, Vol 2, p. 16*, that the modern Iroquois name of Montreal is *Tiotiaki*, the sound of which word is not unlike the Tutonaguy of Cartier.

NOTE 68.—See note 65, page 118

On their way down the river the French called in at Hochelay, but found the chief away from home, and nobody there save one of his sons, who told Cartier that his father had gone to Maisouna only two days before.[69] Upon reaching the fort they found that this was not the case, for the Lord of Hochelay had come down to Stadaconé during their absence, in order to devise with Agona hostile measures against the French. The Vicomte de Beaupré's report was to the effect that the Indians no longer came to the fort to sell their fish as usual, but appeared to be in a great state of excitement and alarm. Cartier, hearing all this, and seeing that the Indians were congregating in large numbers (which action he always associated with danger) saw to the efficiency of his defences, which were more than ample to withstand any attack the savages could make upon them, and———

At this point unfortunately, the ancient narrative abruptly breaks off, and we are left to conjecture as best we may, how Cartier and his companions spent the long dreary winter which followed. We know from the opening portion of the account of Roberval's voyage that Cartier was very much badgered by the Indians, and from indications scattered here and there through the fragmentary narrative we have been considering, we are inclined to think that the winter did not pass over without more than one act of treacherous violence on the part of the savages. We do not learn that there was any actual bloodshed,[70] nor is there any mention

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Note 69.—We do not at all know where Maisouna was situate, but from the matter of course way in which it is mentioned here, we suspect that the hidden narrative could tell us something about it.

Note 70.—Thevet—a somewhat doubtful authority—records that one of Cartier's men having insulted an Indian, the enraged savage hurled his tormentor over a [illegible], and treated a second Frenchman, who came to the assistance of his comerade, in like manner. This would not tend to make the relations between the Fort and Stadaconé any the more pleasant.

made of the scurvy, further than that when they first went over their domain at Cap Rouge, special mention is had of "one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda,[71] which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, *whereof I will make mention hereafter.*" This is the same tree that furnished the wonderful cure on the St. Charles, and from the last words of the quotation, it is not at all unlikely that the lost portion of the narrative contains an account of circumstances which rendered necessary a successful re-application of the remedy during the winter sojourn at Cap Rouge.

We must now return to Roberval, whom we left at St. Malo with the intention of going down to Honfleur and there getting ready a vessel in which to follow Cartier. Meeting with unforeseen delays, it was not until the 16th April, 1542, that he sailed from Rochelle with "three tall ships" and two hundred companions, among whom were many persons of quality. The fates seemed against the enterprise, for they had not long left port when the wind turning contrary, drove them back upon the coast of France, and even when they did actually get under way, storms hampered their progress so greatly that it was the 7th June before they reached the Newfoundland coast. Entering the harbour of St. John's the next day, they found there seventeen fishing vessels, some of which must have been Portugese, for Hakluyt says that Roberval was detained here nearly all the month of June owing to an altercation between his men and certain "Portugals."

One morning, some little time after their arrival, as they

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NOTE 71.—The *Brief Recit* has, *Ameda*. Hakluyt's narrative of the second voyage has, *Ameda* or *Hanneda*.

lay at anchor in the bay, they descried three ships entering port, which to Roberval's amazement turned out to be Jacques Cartier's expedition of the previous year on the homeward route. Cartier, whom no *contretemps* ever seemed to embarrass, paid his respects to his superior, and explained that his premature return arose from the fact of his being unable with his small band longer to cope with the Indians. He praised the country, which he declared to be rich and fruitful, and produced certain 'diamonts' and 'Golde ore' "which ore" we are told, "the Sunday next ensuing, was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good."

Roberval, hearing this favourable account of the country ordered Cartier to return with him to Canada. The latter, however, had had enough of it, and quietly slipping off the following night made all sail for France. Several reasons may have prompted this course, which at first sight seems very unlike Cartier. To begin with, we do not think he could have been favourably impressed with Roberval's capacity for the leadership of such an expedition. The latter's interminable delays had been the primary cause of failure so far, and Cartier no doubt felt disinclined to hold second place under such a man, in a situation where vigour and determination were peculiarly indispensable, and where a single error of judgment might prove fatal to the whole party. And apart from the question of Roberval's fitness, we can sympathize with Cartier in his unwillingnes to serve in a country where he had so long been supreme—a country, the very existence of which, but for his intrepidity and perseverance, would not then have been known to the civilized world—a sorry return truly, for all the toil and privation he had undergone. And so we think we understand

the motives which prompted him to give Roberval the slip in the manner he did. He probably desired to avoid anything like an open rupture, and with that object in view, took the somewhat inglorious course we have described.

In this recital we have followed Hakluyt's account of Roberval's voyage, which—and it is only a fragment—is the sole record that has come down to us. We are aware of the existence of certain speculations at variance therewith. Mr. DeCosta, for example, in his article upon Cartier, to which we have several times alluded in the course of this essay, states that Roberval sailed from Honfleur on the 22nd August, 1541—just three months after Cartier had left St. Malo, and that the ships he met in the harbour of St. John's were those of Jalobert and Noël, which Cartier had despatched from Charlesbourg-Royal for France on the 2nd September of that year. The authorities quoted by that gentleman in support of this theory are not accessible to us. Under these circumstances we feel bound to add that we have not that confidence in the accuracy of Mr. DeCosta's historical statements which we should like to feel. If his version be correct, then Cartier and Roberval must have wintered together in Canada in 1541-2. It is true Champlain says that Roberval made Cartier return with him to Canada, where they built a dwelling on the Island of Orleans, while Lescarbot says that Roberval and Cartier together established a fortification in Cape Breton. These statements, however, are mere *obiter dicta*, and are flatly contradicted by the only account of Roberval's voyage extant, with which probably neither Champlain nor Lescarbot were acquainted, but which finds acceptance with such high authorities as Ferland and Faillon, in whose company we

are content to abide. There is besides, other evidence to show that Roberval was in France in the early part of 1542. Harrisse—'*Notes sur la Nouvelle France*,' *p. 5*, *note*—says without qualification :—" Roberval était encore en France le 1 Mars, 1542, puisque à cette date il comparut devant le Parlement de Rouen afin de réclamer certains criminels qui devaient faire partie de son expédition."

Cartier certainly was present in the cathedral church of St. Maio on the 21st October, 1542, on which date he assisted at the baptism of Catherine, daughter of René Moreau, Sieur de la Peraudière, and Roze des Pallys. Both these statements fit in with Hakluyt's version of Roberval's voyage. Finally, M. Joüon des Longrais in his work on Jacques Cartier, published at Paris last year (1888), says positively that Roberval sailed from Rochelle on the 16th April, 1542.

## CHAPTER VI.

# SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF JACQUES CARTIER.

Return from third voyage.—Audit of accounts under Royal Commission.—Evidence of fourth voyage.—Its probable date.—Cartier's private life.—His residence at St. Malo.—Limoilou.—As to his ennoblement.—Foundation of an 'Obit.'—Cartier's death.—His character.—Conclusion.

CARTIER, on his return, found himself and his expedition alike unnoticed. The third war between the rival monarchs had broken out during his absence and Francis, immersed in a sanguinary conflict which taxed the resources of his kingdom to the utmost degree, found himself unable to bestow a thought upon the man who had discovered and entered upon for him, a territory as fair and many times as large as that for which he was wasting the energies and draining the life-blood of his people.

The next we hear of Cartier is his appearance before a commission appointed by the King to audit the accounts of the late voyage. The commission was composed of Robert Legoupil, "conseiller et lieutenant en l'admiraulté de France à la table de marbre de nostre palais à Rouan," and four associatè commissioners. On the 3rd April, 1544, the King addressed a letter to Robert Legoupil, commanding him to summon before him within a week after his appointment for the purposes of this audit, both Roberval and Cartier, showing that both had returned to France before

that date. The report of the commission, dated the 21st June, 1544, fixes the cost of Cartier's third expedition at *39,988 livres 4. 6.* In this document is to be found the only evidence we possess of Cartier's fourth voyage to Canada, which, however, seems to establish the fact of its having taken place. The following is the quotation—Cartier having claimed *4,500 livres* (apparently extra) on account of *l'Hermine* and *l'Emerillon*, adds—·

"Et en ce qui est du tier navire mettrés pour dix sept mois qu'il a esté audict voiaige dudict Cartier, et pour huict mois qu'il a esté à retourner querir ledict Robertval audict Canada au péril de nauléaige[72] que les autres deux, se seront deux mil cinq cents livres, et, pour les autres deux qui furent audict voiaige, six mois à cent livres le mois, sont douze cents livres."

The voyage of seventeen months above referred to is, no doubt, the third one, on which Cartier sailed on the 23rd May, 1541. We do not know the date of his return. He left Newfoundland about the end of June, and we find him present at a baptism at St. Malo on the 21st October following. Between May 1541 and October 1542 is just seventeen months. Leaving Newfoundland about the end of June he should, however, have reached France long before October—probably about the middle or end of August. We fancy, for the purposes of his financial accounts, he must have reckoned the length of the voyage as between the periods of engaging and paying off his crews. Supposing this to have been the case, and allowing for a long passage, such for instance as Roberval experienced a few weeks before, we arrive at the conclusion that the third voyage was held to be of seventeen months' duration.

All we know of the fourth voyage is that it was under-

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Note 72.—See appendix J.

taken to bring back Roberval, and that it lasted eight months. Meagre as is the information afforded us, it is sufficient to justify the estimate of Roberval's fitness for the leadership of such an enterprise which we have supposed Cartier to entertain. As to when it occurred—Cartier was present at a baptism at St. Malo on the 25th March, 1543. He was also present in person before the court at St. Malo, as a witness, on the 17th February, 1544. M. Ferland's supposition that Cartier sailed on his fourth voyage in the autumn of 1543, wintered in Canada, and returned to France about the beginning of May 1544, cannot therefore be accepted.

Hakluyt tells us that Roberval left the neighbourhood of Stadaconé for Hochelaga on the 5th June, 1543. He must therefore have been in Canada sometime after that date. Both Roberval and Cartier appeared before the royal commission at Rouen in June 1544. We cannot find any record of Cartier being in France between March 1543 and February 1544 (saving one doubtful entry in the legal registers, dated the 3rd July, 1543, on which occasion it is more than likely he was represented by proxy). We therefore suggest that he might have sailed on his fourth voyage about the middle of April 1543, and returned late in the autumn of the same year. This is strengthened by the probability that Cartier, having undergone the privations of two winters in Canada, would be careful to avoid a third experience.

Cartier seems to have spent the years succeeding his fourth and (so far as we know) his last voyage, in retirement at St. Malo. His town house was situate on the *rue de Buhen*, between the old manor of that name and the St. Thomas hospital. His country residence was at Limoilou, a small village situate a few miles east-north-east of St.

Malo. The building is still preserved entire. According to the representations of it which we have seen, it is of simple construction—in appearance resembling a substantial farm house, with outbuildings and a court-yard—the whole surrounded by a stone wall. The old house is approached through two gates near together, of ancient form. In the neighbourhood they are known by the name of '*Portes Cartier.*' Over the larger gateway, cut in stone, are the arms of a *Bourgeois*, *i.e.*, without the helmet. It appears that this property had been for many years previous to the time of which we write, in possession of the Cartier family. Here, removed from the strife, political and religious, which raged fiercely all around him, Cartier, happy we have every reason to believe, in the companionship of his wife, passed his later years. We do most sincerely trust that this interesting relic may long escape the ruthless touch of modern philistinism.

It is stated that Francis I. at last recognized the eminent services of his faithful follower by granting to him a patent of nobility. We should like to think this was the case, but we fear there is no satisfactory evidence to show that either Francis or Henry, his son and successor, ever did anything of the kind. L'abbé Faillon is of opinion that the circumstance of Cartier being alluded to on the Baptismal register, under the date 5th February, 1550, as "*Noble homme*"[73] (which title he says was given only to those of noble rank) is proof of his elevation to that dignity. Unfortunately we

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NOTE 73.— 5 Février, 1550.

"Le jeudy, cinquiesme jour de feubvrier, fut baptizé ung filz en l'église cathédrale de Saint-Malo, à Jacques Nouel et à Robine Hervé sa femme, par Dom Ollivier Lemarque substitut de vénérable et discrète personne Maistre Lancelot Buffier chanoine et vicaire-curé de la dicte église, et nommé fust par *noble homme Jacques Cartier*, Jacques, et petit compère Jehan Guéridien, pour commère Perrine Gaulthier. En présence de Etienne Nouel, Mery Rouxel et du soubsigné notaire, le dict jour et an. Signé : JACQUES CARTIER et F. TREHOUART."

find Cartier similarly entitled, on the same register, ten years before—namely on the 13th November, 1540, yet it has never been maintained that he was ennobled before his departure on the third voyage. Again, his name is recorded in the ecclesiastical and legal records of St. Malo many times subsequently to February 1550,[74] but on none of these occasions is there any allusion to his being of noble degree. Finally, *M. Joüon des Longrais* has unearthed a document dated 9th March, 1557, in which Cartier is specially distinguished from certain "priseurs nobles"—he being termed "l'vn des priseurs de ceste ville."

It is true that in "*un acte du chapitre de Saint-Malo*," dated the 29th September, 1549, he is styled *Sieur de Limoilou*, but it does not necessarily follow therefrom that he was of noble rank. M. des Longrais says on this point—"Les plus petits propriétaires s'intitulaient sieurs ou seigneurs de leur terre quand il leur plaisait, quoique l'usage en fût un peu moins général qu' à la fin du même siècle." The '*Acte*' above mentioned records the foundation by the Sieur de Limoilou and his wife of an '*obit*' in the cathedral church of St. Malo. This '*obit*' called for the celebration of three masses of requiem on the 16th October in each year. The Sieur does not appear to have been blessed with much of this world's goods, for it seems that in order to establish this '*obit*,' costing the sum of four livres, he was obliged to mortgage his town residence.

Cartier's presence at baptisms and before the legal tri-

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NOTE 74.—For example, on the 2nd August in the same year
"Le sabmedy second jour d'aougst, an predict mil Ve cinquante, par venerable & discret Me. Lancelot Ruffier fut baptisé nng fils à Raoulet Grout & Jeanne Cheville sa femme; & fut nommé Jacques *par honnestes gens Jacques Cartier*, principal compere, & Robin Pestel, petit cp., & Ollive Lambert cm., lesd. jour & an. G. Langevin."

bunals, where his knowledge and experience were had in great request,[75] continued to occur frequently during the latter part of his life. We have already referred to his last attendance at a baptism, which took place on the 17th November, 1555. His last appearance in court was on the 26th June, 1557, when he gave certain evidence in corroboration of the testimony of one Jehan Daniel.

We come now to the last act of Cartier's life—namely his death, which occurred on the 1st September, 1557, in the 66th or 67th year of his age.[76] Katherine des Granches survived her husband nearly eighteen years, dying in the early part of 1575. As we have already stated, they had no family. Among Cartier's collateral descendants we may mention Jacques Noel, grand nephew of the celebrated navigator, from whose interesting letters, written in 1587,[77] it is apparent that he was not ignorant of the deeds of his great-uncle. In one of these letters he states that he had gone over the ground in the neighbourhood of the Saults (Lachine rapids) himself, and in another he speaks of his sons, Michael and John, who at the date of his writing were in Canada.

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NOTE 75.—The portrait of Jacques Cartier still hangs in the town hall of St. Malo. The name of the painter is unknown. In 1847 the L. & H. S. of Quebec procured a copy of this painting by M. Amiel, a Parisian artist. This picture unfotunately was destroyed in the burning of the Parliament buildings at Quebec in February 1854. Many reproductions, however, are in existence, and the bold and resolute features of the great navigator are familiar to us all.

NOTE 76.—M. des Longrais says that he discovered not long since on the margin of one of the Court Registers at St. Malo, above the date of 1st September 1557, the following memorandum:

"*Ce dict mercredy au matin environ cinq heures decedu Jacques Cartier.*"

M. des Longrais has appended a fac-simile of this entry. Cartier's death was probably caused by an epidemic which was very fatal at St. Malo about that time.

NOTE 77.—See appendix L.

In considering the character of Jacques Cartier, if indeed our scanty knowledge of the man warrants us in using so comprehensive a word, two features stand prominently forth—his deep piety, and his extraordinary physical courage and endurance. In our attempt to follow his adventurous course, we have more than once called attention to both these traits. Concerning the first, we may sum up our observations by saying that in Cartier dwelt an habitual sense of the Divine presence, which governed all his actions and directed all his ways. Devoted to the interests of Holy Church, he was a strict observer of her sacred ordinances and her stately forms, while his private life appears ever to have been regulated by the maxims of the Gospel. In looking back over the record of his voyages, it is very rarely one meets with any violation of the moral law—the only instances we can recall being the kidnapping of the Indians at Stadaconé, and the subsequent deception which that act entailed. True it is that the accounts in all probability were written by himself, but they are simple, straightforward narratives, and bear the impress of truth upon every page.

Of his physical courage and powers of endurance it would be difficult to speak too highly. When one considers what the ships of that period were like, it will be admitted that a voyage to the new found land was in itself no light undertaking. But this voyage four times repeated, was but a small portion of Cartier's exploits. Cramped in his wretched little vessel, buffeted by the winds and waves, he lived for months at a time in command of men, some of whom at any rate, judging from their extraction, could not have been very desirable companions. With them he explored wild regions on which the foot of a white man had never trod—

penetrated a thousand miles into the interior of an unknown continent—and there, surrounded by savages, alone of civilized men in all that mighty wilderness which stretched from Mexico to the Pole, he deliberately undertook, with a handful of followers, to spend a winter. We know something of the unspeakable miseries he endured in the course of that dreary stay on the banks of the St. Charles, and we have seen how little they affected his indomitable spirit, in that on the first opportunity he voluntarily repeated his experience.

Of Cartier in his domestic relations we know scarcely anything. From one or two circumstances we have mentioned, we think we are justified in surmising that his married life was uniformly happy, the one disappointment being that the blessing of Joseph was withheld from them; for little as we know of Cartier, this much is clear, that he possessed that note of a great man—fondness for children. There is scarcely a year of his life in which we do not hear of him holding a little one over the baptismal font.

Under happier auspices Cartier's third voyage would proably have marked the beginning of the permanent settlement of this country, and Canadian history would have had fifty years added to its page. But Providence ordained differently, and the work was reserved for other hands.

With Francis I. died all hope of an early settlement of New France. His successor, burdened with the affairs of a country attacked from without by foreign foes, and torn by religious wars within her borders, bestowed no further thought upon an enterprise which promised no immediate return. The Basque and Breton fishermen pursued their calling on the banks of Newfoundland and in the 'Grand

Bay' as of old, and there are not wanting traces of feeble and intermittent attempts on the part of private individuals to follow in the footsteps of Jacques Cartier; but with him, to all intents and purposes, Canada disappeared from the eyes of the civilized world. No longer need the anxious inhabitant of Stadaconé gaze fearfully down the great river—no more in his generation should bearded strangers invade the privacy of his domain; his next danger lay in the opposite direction, where, far up the Ottawa, forces were gathering for his overthrow. And as Algonquin followed Huron at Hochelaga and Stadaconé, a savage power was steadily growing in the south, of whose unparalleled ferocity both Huron and Algonquin were soon to have bitter experience.

Save for these widely scattered bands of savages, all Canada was a solitude, through which the St. Lawrence rolled down its lonely course for more than a thousand miles. And so it continued to be for upwards of sixty years, until at length the silence was broken by the commanding voice of Samuel de Champlain.

# APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

In almost every account of Cartier's voyages which we have seen, the two ships which sailed on the first voyage are said to have been each of sixty tons burden, and equipped with one hundred and twenty-two men in all. The writers have all been misled by Hakluyt, who says:—"We departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men *in ech one*."

A comparison of this with the parallel passages in the other relations, shows that Hakluyt erred in his enumeration.

The Ed. 1598 has—"Auec deux nauires de charge chacun d'environ soixante tonneaux, et armé de soixante et un homme." This is not so clear as it might be. Read, however, in the light of the *R. O.* it is obvious that the sixty-one men formed the united crews. "Auecques lesdits deux nauires du port d'enuiron soixante tonneaulx *chacun*, esquippez *les deux* de soixante ung homme." This we take to be conclusive, but if further evidence be wanting, it is to be found in the legal document dated the 28th March, 1533, to which we have alluded in the body of this paper, and which has as follows:—"..... Jacques Cartier, capitaine et pilote pour le Roy, ayant charge de voiaiger et aller aux Terres Neuffves, passer le destroict de la baye des Chasteaulx avecques deux navires *équippez de saixante compaignons pour l'an présent*, &c."

We think, therefore, we are justified in stating that Cartier was accompanied on his first voyage by only 60 persons. In reading the accounts of his voyages, in Hakluyt, for the first time, it struck us as somewhat singular that he should have been accompanied by more men on his first than on his second voyage. The truth is, however, that the proportion between the tonnage and the men is the same on both voyages: on the first, 120 tons and 61 men—on the second, 220 tons and 110 men.

## APPENDIX B.

There are no less than five versions of the narrative of the first voyage of Cartier.

1. In Italian, by Ramusio: "*Prima relatione di Iacques Carthier della terra nuoua detta la nuoua Francia.*" Vol. III. First published in 1556. Reprinted in 1565, 1606 and 1613.

2. "*Discovrs ‖ dv ‖ voyage ‖ fait par le capi-‖taine Iaqves Cartier ‖ aux Terres-neufnes de Canadas, No-‖rembe gue, Hochelage, Labrador, & ‖ pays adiacens, dite nouuelle France,‖ auec particulieres mœurs, langage et ‖ ceremonies des habitans d'icelle‖. —A Roven, ‖ de l'imprimerie ‖ de Raphaël du Petit Val, Libraire et Imprimeur du Roy, à l'Ange Raphaël.‖ M. D. XCVIII. Avec Permission.*"

Reprinted in 1843 by the L. & H. S. of Quebec, and in 1865 by M. H. Michelant. This work, it is stated in the preface, is a translation of one '*escrit en langue estrangere.*'

3. "*A short and ‖ briefe narration of the two ‖ Navigations and Discoueries ‖ to the Northweast partes called ‖ Newe Fravnce: ‖ First translated out of French into Italian by that famous ‖ learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned‖ into English by John Florio: worthy the rea-‖ding of all Venturers, Trauellers ‖ and Discouuerers.‖—*

"*Imprinted at Lon‖don, by H. Bynneman dwelling ‖ in Thames Streate, neere vnto ‖ Baynardes Castell. ‖ Anno Domini* 1580."

4. "*Certaine voyages containing the Discouerie of the Gulfe of Sainct Laurence to the West of Newfoundland, and from thence vp the riuer of Canada, to Ho helaga, Saguenay, and other places: with a description of the temperature of the climate, the disposition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the soile, and other matters of speciall moment: collected by Richard Haklvyt Preacher, and sometimes student of Christ-Church in Oxford.*" Printed in London in 1600.

5. "*Voyage de Jacques Cartier,*" 1544.

A manuscript discovered in 1867 in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris, which notwithstanding the date, 1544, is held to be the *Relation Originale* of the first voyage. It was published at Paris in the year of its discovery by MM. Michelant and Ramé. All five accounts substantially agree, a close similarity existing between the first, second and fourth, although here and there differences occur, of sufficient importance in the judgment of M. Michelant (a gentleman who has bestowed much

study upon the subject) to warrant the opinion that the Italian, English, and French versions come of independent sources. The fifth differs more frequently from the rest than any one of the latter does from the other three, and in the matter of distances &c., where one can form an indepen lent opinion, it is generally found that the *Relation Originale* is the most trustworthy. Accordingly, where the versions conflict, we as a rule give it the preference. We have never had an opportunity of examining the third (Florio's), which is confessedly a translation from Ramusio, and therefore cannot be, on M. Michelant's theory, identical with the one employed by Hakluyt, as one would be disposed to think.

## APPENDIX C.

Lewis Roberts, in his "Dictionary of Commerce," printed in London in 1600, says of Brest, that it was the chief town of New France: that it was the residence of the Governor, Almoner, and other public officers: that the French drew therefrom large quantities of baccalao, train oil, and valuable furs. See Robertson's paper on the Labrador coast, in the records of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for the year 1843.

Unfortunately this ancient dictionary of Roberts is not to be found in Canada, nor have we been able to discover it in Boston. Mr. Robertson, after quoting Roberts, says in his paper—"As to the truth of Roberts' remarks there can be no doubt, as may be seen from the ruins and portions of the buildings, which were chiefly constructed of wood. I estimate that at one time it contained 200 houses, besides stores, &c., and perhaps a thousand inhabitants in winter, which would be trebled in summer."

The period to which he refers was, however, long after Cartier's day. A little farther on Mr. Robertson falls into an error respecting Brest, which he confounds with Bradore—*les Islettes* of Cartier.

L'Ile aux Basques is in lat. 48° 9′ long. 69° 15′.

Echafaud Island, as laid down in Bayfield's charts, is a mere rock just off the Basque roads. Cap de Chafaut aux Basques, on the mainland near by, is about two leagues from Tadousac. S. E. ‡ S. of 'la pointe aux Allouettes,' otherwise called St. Matthew, (the cape on the western side of the entrance to the Saguenay.) Emery de Caen anchored there in 1629. *Champlain pp.* 1096-7, 1245.

## APPENDIX D.

The following is the text of the Commission authorizing the second voyage.

PHELIPPES CHABOT,—

chevalier de l'ordre, compte de Buzançoys et de Charny, baron d'Aspremont, de Paigny et de Mirebeau, seigneur de Beaumont et de Fontaine franczose admiral de France, Bretaigne et Guyenne, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le roy en Bourgongne, aussi lieutenant général pour monseigneur le daulphin ou gouvernement de Normandie, au cappitaine et pillote maistre Jaques Cartier de Sainct Mâlo—salut. Nous vous avons commis et depputé, commettons et deputons du voulloir et commandement du roy pour conduire, mener et emploier troys navyres équippées et advitaillées chacune pour quinze moys au parachevement de la navigation des terres par vous jà commencées à descouvrir oultre les terres neufves, et en icelluy voaige essayer de faire et acomplir ce qu'il a plu audit seigneur vous commander et ordonner, pour l'equippaige duquel vous achapterez ou freterez à tel pris raisonnable que adviserez au dire de gens de bien à ce congnoissans, et sellon que verrez et congnoistrez estre bon pour le bien de ladite navigation, lesdites troys navires prandrez et louerez le nombre des pillotes, maistres, et compaignons marynyers telz qu'il vous semblera estre requis et nécessaire pour lacomplissement d'icelle navigation, desquelles choses faire equipper, dresser et mettre sus, vous avons donné et donnons povoir, commission et mandement espicial, avec la totale charge et superintendence d'iceulx navires, voaige et navigation, tant à laller que retourner. Mandons et commandons à tous lesdits pillottes, maistres et compagnons mariniers et aultres qui seront esdits navires vous obeyer et suyvre pour le service du roy en ce que dessur, comme ilz feroint à nous mesmes, sans aucune contradition ne reffuz, et ce sur les peines en tel cas acoustumés à ceulx qui se trouveront desobeïssans et faisans le contraire. Donné soubz noz seing et scel d'armes, le pénultieme jour d'octobre l'an mil cinq centz trante quatre. Ainsi signé Phelippes Chabot, et saellé en plat quart de cire rouge (in the margin)—"Collationné avecq loriginal."

## APPENDIX E.

The following is the list of Jacques Cartier's companions on the second voyage, to which reference is had on page 58

We have adopted the spelling employed by *M. F. Joüon des Longrais* in his work "Jacques Cartier Documents Nouveaux" 1888. The names in italics are as they are given in *M. Alfred Ramé's* "Documents Inédits sur Jacques Cartier," 1865. It will be observed that there are several discrepancies between the two renderings, although both purport to be transcriptions from the same roll.

*Le mereredy dernier jour de mars apres Pasques mil Vcc XXXV à l'abaye Sainct Jehan.....*

Et a celluy Poulet aparu le rolle & numbre des compaignons que led. Cartier a prins pour lad. navigation ; & a esté mis entre mes mains pour incerer cy dessous. & a celluy Poulet protesté de en dymyer du numbre de XXV à trente & d'en prendre d'aultres à son chouaix.

L'incertion desd. maistres, compaignons, mariniers & pillotes s'ensuyvent—

1. Jacques Cartier, cappitaine.
2. Thomas Fourmont, Maistre de la nef.
   (This name is variously spelt Fourmont, Frosmond, Fromont. The *Brief Recit* has Frosmond. Thomas Fourmont, *dit* de la Bouille, was one of the few survivors of the second voyage whom we know to have followed Cartier in 1541, from which expedition he was fated never to return. See note p. 119.)
3. Guillaume le Breton Bastille, capitaine et pilote du galion.
4. Jacques Maingard, maistre du galion.
5. Macé Jalobert, capitaine et pilote du Corlieu.
   *Marc.* (He was brother-in-law to Cartier, having married Alison desGranges, sister of Katherine.)
6. Guillaume le Marié, maistre du Courlieu.
7. Laurent Boulain.
   *Laurens.*
8. Estienne Nouel.
9. Pierre Esmery *dict* Talbot.
   *Pierres.*
10. Michel Hervé.
11. Estienne Pommerel.
    *Princevel.*
12. Michel Audiepvre.
13. Briend Sauboscq.
    *Bertrand Sambost.*
14. Richard Cobaz.

*Richard Le Bay.*

15. Lucas Saumur.

*Lucas Fammys.*

16. François Guitault, apoticaire.
17. Georget Mabille.
18. Guillaume Sequart, charpentier.
19. Robin le Tort.
20. Sanson Ripault, barbier.

*Samson.*

21. François Guillot.
22. Guillaume Esnault, charpentier.
23. Jehan Dabin, charpentier.
24. Jehan Du Nort, charpentier.

*Jehan Duvert.*

25. Julien Golet.
26. Thomas Boulain.
27. Michel Philipot.

*Phelipot.*

28. Jehan Hamel.
29. Jehan Fleury.
30. Guillaume Guilbert.
31. Colas Barbé.

*Barbe.*

32. Lorans Gaillot.

*Laurens.*

33. Guillaume Bochier.
34. Michel Eon.
35. Jehan Anthoine.
36. Michel Maingard.
37. Jehan Maryen.
38. Bertrand Apvril.
39. Gilles Ruffin.

*Gilles Stuffin.*

40. Geoffroy Olivier.

*Ollivier.*

41. Guillaume de Guernezé.
42. Eustache Grossin.
43. Guillaume Alliecte.

*Allierte.*

44. Jehan Davy.

*Ravy.*

45. Pierre Marquier, trompecte.
*Pierres.*
46. Guillaume le Gentilhomme.
47. Raoullet Maingard.
48. François Duault.
49. Hervé Henry.
50. Yvon le Gal.
51. Anthoine Aliecte.
*Alierte.*
52. Jehan Colas.
53. Jacques Prinsault.
*Poinsault.*
54. Dom Guillaume le Breton.
55. Dom Anthoine.
(In the Library of Parliament at Ottawa there is a well executed copy in fac-simile of the roll of Cartier's crews. It bears the inscription "*Liste revue avec soin sur le Fac-simile, par C. H. Laverdière, ptre Bibliothécaire de l'Univ. de Laval,* 22 Novemb. 1859."
In the margin, opposite each name, is printed the modern rendering thereof, which in a few instances, differs slightly from either of the versions we give here. In the interval between the names "*Dom Guille Le Breton,*" and "*Philippe Thomas, Charpentier,*" are certain characters, corresponding to the initial word of the first mentioned name, which palæographers tell us stand for the prefix "Dom," followed by a blank space. At the foot of the page is the following note :
"*Ce nom, omis dans l'original, a été suppléé par Mr. Cunat dans la liste quil a publiée à St. Malo le* 4 *Décembre* 1858.")
56. Philippe Thomas, charpentier.
*Philipes.*
57. Jacques du Boys.
*Duboy.*
58. Jullien Plancouet.
*Plantirnet.*
59. Jehan Go.
60. Jehan le Gentilhomme.
61. Michel Donquan, charpentier.
*Douquais.*

62. JEHAN AISMERY, Charpentier.
63. PERROT MAINGARD.
*Pierre Maingart.*
64. LUCAS CLAVIER.
65. GOULHET RIOU.
*Goulset Riou.*
66. JEHAN JAC, DE MORBIHEN.
*Jehan Jacques Morbihen.*
67. PIERRE NYEL.
*Fierres.*
68. LE GENDRE ESTIENNE LE BLANC.
69. JEHAN PIERRES.
70. JEHAN COUMYN.
71. ANTHOINE DES GRANCHES.
72. LOUYS DOUAYREN.
*Douayrer.*
73. PIERRES COUPEAUX.
*Coupeaulx.*
74. PIERRE JONCHÉE.
*Pierres.*

## APPENDIX F.

There seems to be a general agreement upon this point; Champlain, Sagard, Lescarbot, all attest to the fact of Cartier having wintered in the St. Charles. Champlain says—*Laverdière's edition of* 1613, *p.* 156—"Ie tiens que dans ceste riuiere qui est au Nort & vn quart du Norouest de nostre habitation, ce fut le lieu où Iaques Quartier yuerna, d'autant qu'il y a encores à vne lieue dans la riuiere des vestiges comme d'vne cheminée, dont on a trouué le fondement, & apparence d'y auoir eu des fossez autour de leur logement, qui estoit petit. Nous trouuasmes aussi de grandes pieces de bois escarrées, vermoulues, & quelques 3 ou 4 balles de canon. Toutes ces choses monstrent euidemment que c'a esté vne habitation, laquelle a esté fondée par des Chrestiens" &c.

Again, speaking of the St. Charles, he says—

*Laverdière's Champlain, ed.* 1632, *p.* 13—"vne petite riuiere qui asseche presque de basse mer, qu'il (Cartier) nomma Saincte Croix, pour y estre arriué le iour de l'Exaltation de Saincte Croix: lieu qui s'appelle maintenant la riuiere Sainct Charles,

sur laquelle à present sont logez les Peres Recollets, & les Peres Iesuites, pour y faire vn Seminaire à instruire la ieunesse."

And again, p. 14—

"Cartier.....qu'il fut contraint d'hyuerner en la riuiere Saincte Croix, en vn endroit où maintenant les Peres Iesuites ont leur demeure, sur le bord d'vne autre petite riuiere qui se descharge dans celle de Saincte Croix, appellée la riuiere de Iacques Cartier, comme ses relations font foy."

Sagard, *Vol.* 3, *p.* 788, says the Récollets assisted the Jesuits to erect their dwelling "en un lieu que l'on appelle communement le fort de Jacques Cartier."

It is somewhat singular that Charlevoix, who probably was acquainted with Cartier's narrative, should have maintained that Cartier's wintering place was at the mouth of the Jacques Cartier River, five and twenty miles above Quebec. In this he is clearly in error.

The little river Lairet, and the *ruisseau* St. Michel—a small stream some two hundred yards farther up—fall into the St. Charles nearly opposite Hare Point. They are, each of them, about seven feet wide at the mouth, at low tide, but as the tide rises in the St. Charles from twelve to fifteen feet, a vessel of the size of the *Grande Hermine* could enter either at high water. We believe, as we have said, that the mouth of the Lairet was Cartier's abiding place during the winter of 1535-6, and we mention the *ruisseau* St. Michel only for the reason that in it, according to M. LeMoine's "*Picturesque Quebec*" *p.* 484, were dug up the remains of a vessel supposed to be the *Petite Hermine*, portions of which were presented, as such, to the town of St. Malo, where they are now preserved.

In Champlain's time, as we have seen, *vide supra*, the Lairet was known as the river of Jacques Cartier, but this must have been merely an alternative designation, for in the original grant from the Duke of Ventadour, Viceroy of New France, to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, dated 10th March 1626, it is alluded to as "la petite riviere dite communement Lairet."* (*Vide, Pièces et Documents relatifs à la Tenure Seigneuriale*, printed by order of the Canadian Legislature in 1851, vol. 1, p. 53.)

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*NOTE.—The writer is indebted to Dr. N. E. Dionne of Quebec for this piece of information which he has since verified in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa. When this essay was written he was under the impression that the confirmatory grant of these lands, dated 12th May, 1678, in which mention is had of "*la petite riviere de Layret*" contained the earliest known reference to this river by its present name, but Dr. Dionne's discovery shows that, fifty-two years before that period, it was *commonly called* the Lairet.

The St Charles was called by the Indians *Cabir-Coubat* on account of its sinuous course. It was given its present name by the Récollets in honour of Charles Des Bouës, grand vicar of Pontoise, who founded the first mission of the Order in Canada. The Island of Orleans was called by the Indians 'Minigo,' while Donnacona's capital was called Stadaconé, which in the native language signified 'wing,' because the point between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles on which it was built, suggested to the Indians the form of an outstretched wing. See Ferland, *Cours D'Histoire.* passim.

## APPENDIX G.

M. D'Avezac has appended to his reproduction of the *Brief Recit*, two chapters which, so far as we can gather, are not in the original edition of 1545. They certainly are not in Ramusio or Hakluyt. Lescarbot, however, gives them in their place in Cartier's narrative, and they are also to be found in the edition published by the L. & H. S. of Quebec. M. D'Avezac, while relegating them to the end of his book, appears nevertheless to regard them as genuine. We therefore think it not out of place to give a short *resumé* of them here, merely premising that they contain nothing inconsistent with the *Brief Recit.*

The first chapter begins by relating that during the month following the return of Cartier from Hochelaga, the Stadaconé Indians came regularly to the ships to exchange their fish for small beads and other articles of like nature. Matters were thus proceeding amicably, when Taignoagny and Domagaya—"les deux meschans"—as they are termed, succeeded in persuading their comrades that the French were obtaining an undue advantage in this commerce, and that instead of worthless trinkets, the Indians should demand hatchets and other articles of greater value and use to them.

About this time Cartier was warned by 'a lord of Hagonchenda' that some treachery was in the air, which proved to be nothing more serious than a scheme to inveigle away from the ships the three Indian children, whom Donnacona had presented to the Captain. The plot was so far successful that the eldest girl effected her escape. A complete suspension of intercourse between the Fort and Stadaconé was the result.

The second chapter opens by relating that the Indians speedily repented of their course. On the 4th November, a deputation from the town, headed by Domagaya, visited the ships and reported that Donnacona had gone off to scour the country for the lost damsel. Meanwhile Domagaya informed

the Captain that Taignoagny was very ill, and prayed for the gift of some salt and a little bread. Cartier with his usual kindness, complied with the request, sending him word at the same time that 'Jesus was angry with him for his evil doings,' and that he was to see in his illness evidence of the Divine wrath. The admonition was not without its effect, for in a few days the girl was returned, with the explanation that she had run away because one of the cabin boys (*paiges*) had beaten her. A reconciliation followed, to seal which Cartier entertained the Indians with bread and wine. Harmony thus being restored, the French and Indians again lived together "en aussi grand amour que pardevant."

## APPENDIX H.

### *AV ROY.*

*Treschrestien.*

CONSIDERANT, *O mon tres redoubté prince, les grãdz bien & don de grace qu'il a pleu à Dieu le Createur faire à ses creatures: Et entre les autres de mettre & asseoir le soleil, qui est la vie & congnoissãce de toutes icelles, & sans lequel nul ne peult fructifier ni generer en lieu & place la ou il a son mouuement, & declination contraire, & non semblable es autres planettes. Par lesquelz mouuemẽt & declinaison, toutes creatures estãs sur la terre en quelque lieu & place qu'elles puissent estre, en ont, ou en pẽuuent auoir en lan dudict soleil, qui est* 365 *iours et six heures. Autant de veue oculaire les vngs que les autres, non qu'il soit tant chault & ardant es vngs lieux, que es autres par ses raiz & reuerberations, ny la diuision des iours & nuictz en pareille esgalleté: Mais suffit qu'il ayt de telle sorte & tant temperemẽt que toute la terre est ou peult estre habitee en quelque zone, climat, ou paralelle que ce soit: Et icelles auecques les eaues, arbres, herbes, & toutes autres creatures de quelques genres ou especes qu'elles soient par l'influence d'iceluy soleil, donner fruictz & generations selon leur nature par le vie & nourriture des creatures humaines. Et si aucuns vouloient dire le cõtraire de ce que dessus, en alleguant ledict des saiges philosophes du temps passé, qui ont escript & faict diuision de la terre par cinq zones, dont ilz dient & affferment trois inhabitées. Cest assauoir la zone torride, qui est entre les deux tropiques ou solstices, qui passe par le zenic des testes des habitans d'icelle: Et les deux zones artique & entartique pour la grand froideur qui est en icelle, à cause du peu d'esleuation qu'ilz ont dudict soleil & autres raisons: le con-*

*fesse qu'ilz ont escript de la maniere, & croy fermemẽt qu'ilz le pensent ainsi, & qu'ilz le treuuent par aucunes raisons naturelles, ou ilz prenoient leur fondement, & d'icelluy se contentoient seulemẽt sans aueuturer n'y mectre leurs personnes es dangiers, esquelz ilz eussent peu ancheoir à cercher l'experience de leur dire. Mais ie dictz pour ma replique que le prince d'iceulz philosophes a laissé parmy ses escriptures vng mot de grande cõsequence, qui dict que,* Experiẽtia est rerum magistra ; *par l'enseignemẽt duquel i'ay osé entreprendre de adresser à la veue de vostre magesté royalle, cestuy propos en maniere de prologue, de ce myen petit labeur : Car suyuant vostre royal commandement. Les simples mariniers de present non ayans eu tant de crainete d'eulz mectre à l'aduanture d'iceulx perilz & dangiers qu'ilz ont eu, & ont desir de vous faire treshumble seruice à l'augmentation de la saincte foy chrestienne, ont congneu le contraire d'icelle opinion des philosophes par vraye experience.*

*Ie allegue ce que deuant, parce que ie regarde que le soleil qui chascun iour se lieue à l'orient, & se reconce à l'occident faict le tour & circuit de la terre, donnant lumiere & chaleur à tout le monde en vingt quatre heures, qui est vng iour naturel, sans aucune interruption de son mouuement & cours naturel. A l'exemple duquel ie pense à mon foible entendement, & sans autre raison y alleguer, qu'il plaist à Dieu par sa diuine bonté que toutes humaines creatures estans & habitans soubz le globe de la terre, ainsy qu'elles ont veue, & congnoissance d'icelluy soleil ayt & ayent pour la temps aduenir congnoissance & creance de nostre saincte foy : Car premierement icelle nostre saincte foy a esté semee & plantee à la terre saincte, qui est en Asye à l'orient de nostre Europe : Et depuis par succession de temps apportee & diuulguee iusques à nous, & finalement à l'occident de nostredicte Europe à l'exemple du dict soleil portant sa chaleur & clarté d'orient en occident comme dict est. Et pareillement aussy auons veu icelle nostre saincte foy, par plusieurs fois à l'occasion des meschãs heretiques & faulz legislateurs, eclipses en aucuns lieux : & depuis soubdainemẽt reluyre & monster sa clerté plus appertement que auparauant. Et maintenant encores à present voyons comme les meschans lutheriens apostatz & imitateurs de Mahomet, de iour en autre s'efforcent de icelle opprimer, & finablement du tout estaindre, si Dieu & les vrays suppostz d'icelle n'y donnent ordre par mortelle iustice ; ainsy qu'on veoit faire chascun iour en voz pays & royaulme, par le bon ordre & police quey auez mys. Pareillement aussi veoit on, comme au contraire d'iceulx enfans de Sathan, les paoures chrestiens, & vrays pilliers de l'Esglise catholique s'efforcent d'icelle augmenter & accroistre, ainsi que a faict le catholique Roy d'Espaigne, es terres qui*

*par son commãdemẽt ont esté descouuertes en l'occidẽt de ses pais & royaulmes. les-quelles auparauant nous estoient incognues, estranges, & hors de nostre foy: Comme la neufue Espaigne, Lisabelle, terre ferme, & autres ysles ou on a trouué innumerable peuple, qui a esté baptisé & reduict en nostre tressaincte foy.*

*Et mainteuant en la presente nauigation faicte par vostre royal commandement en la desconuerture des terres occidentales, estans soubz les climats & paralelle de voz pays & royaulme, non auparauant à vous n'y à nous congneuz, pourrez veoir & scauoir la bonté & fertilité d'icelles, innumerable quantité des peuples y habitans, la bonté & paisibleté d'iceulx, Et pareillement la fecondité du grãt fleuue que descend & arrose le permy d'icelles vos terres, qui est le plus grãt sans comparaison que on sache iamais auoir veu. Les quelles choses donnent à ceulx qui les ont venes, certaine esperance de l'augmentation future de nostre dicte saincte foy & de voz seigneuries & nom tres chrestien, ainsi qu'il vous plaira veoir par cestuy present petit liure: Auquel sont amplemẽt contenues toutes choses dignes de memoire, que auons venes, & qui nous sont aduenues tant en faisant ladicte nauigation, que estans & faisans seiour en vosdictz pays & terres.*

## APPENDIX I.

The following is the text of the Letters Patent issued to Jacques Cartier on the occasion of his third voyage.

François par la grâce de Dieu Roy de France, et (à?) touz ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront, salut. Comme pour le désir d'entendre et avoir congnoissance de plusieurs pays que on dict inhabitez, et aultres estre pocedez par gens sauvaiges vivans sans congnoissance de Dieu et sans usaige de raison, eussions des piecza a grandz fraiz et mises envoyé descouvrir esdits pays par plusieurs bons pillottes et aultres noz subjectz de bon entendement, sçavoir et expérience, qui d'iceux pays nous aurioent amené divers hommes que nous avons par long (temps) tenuz en nostre royaume les faisans instruire en l'amour et crainte de Dieu, et de sa saincte loy et doctrine chrestienne, en intention de les faire revenir esdicts pays en compaignie de bon nombre de noz subjectz de bonne volonté, affin de plus facillement induire les autres peuples d'iceux pays à croire en nostre saincte foy, Et entre autres y eussions envoyé nostre cher et bien amé Jacques Cartier, lequel auroict descouvert grand pays des terres de Canada et Oche-

laga, faisant un bout de l'Azie du costé de l'Occident, lesquelz pays il a trouvez, ainsi qu'il nous a rapporté, garniz de plusieurs bonnes commodittez, et les peuples d'iceux bien formez de corps et de membres et bien disposez d'esprit et entendement, desquelz il nous a semblement amené aucun nombre que nous avons par long temps faict vivre et instruire en nostre saincte foy, avecq nosdictz subjectz en considération de quoy et vu leur bonne inclination, nous avons advisé et délibéré de renvoiër ledict Cartier esdictz pays de Canada et Ochelaga et jusqu'en la terre de Saguenay, s'il peult y aborder avec bon nombre de navires et de nosdictz subjectz de bonne volonté et de touttes qualitez, artz et industrie pour plus avant entrer esdictz pays, converser avec lesdictz peuples d'iceux et avecq eux habiter si besoin est, affin de mieux parvenir à nostre dite intention, et à faire chose aggréable à Dieu nostre créateur et rédempteur et qui soict à l'augmentation de son saint et sacré nom et de nostre mère sainte église catholicque, de laquelle nous sommes dictz et nommez le premier fils, Pourquoi, soict besoing pour meilleur ordre et expédition de ladicte entreprise députer et establir un capitaine général et maistre pillotte des dictz navires, qui ait regard à la conduitte d'iceux et sur les gens officiers et soldatz y ordonnez et estabiiz, sçavoir faisons, que Nous à plain confians de la personne dudict Jacques Cartier, et de ses sens, suffizance, loyaulté, preudhomie, hardiesse, grande dilligence et bonne expérience, icely pour ces causes et aultres, a ce nous mouvans, avons faict et constitué, ordonné et estably, faisons, constituons, ordonnons, et establissons par ces présantes Capitaine général et maistre pillotte de tous les navires et autres vaisseaux de mer par nous ordonnez estre menez pour ladicte entreprise et expédition, pour ledict estat et charge de capitaine général et maistre pillotte d'iceux navires et vaisseaux avoir, tenir, et esercer par ledict Jacques Cartier aux honneurs, prérogatives, preéminances, franchises, libertez, gaiges et biens faictz tels que par nous luy seront pour ce ordonnez, tant qu'il nous plaira, et luy avons donné et donnons puissance et auctorité de mettre, establir et instituer ausdeitz navires telz lieutenantz, patrons, pillottes et autres ministres nécessaires pour le faict et conduicte d'iceux, et en tel nombre qu'il verra et congnoistra estre besoing et nécessaire pour le bien de ladicte expédition. Si donnons en mandement par cesdictes présentes à nostre admiral ou visadmiral que pris et receu dudict Jacques Cartier le serment pour ce deu et accoustumé, iceluy mettent et instituent ou facent mettre et instituer de par nous en possession et saisine dudict estat de capitaine général et maistre pillotte et d'iceluy ensemble des honneurs, prérogatives, prééminances, franchises, libertez, gaiges et bien-

faictz telz que par nous luy seront pour ce ordonnez, le facent, souffrent, et laissent jouir et user plainement et paisiblement et à luy obeyr et entendre de tous, et ainsi qu'il appartiendra es choses touchant et concernant le dict estat et charge, et oultre luy face, souffre et permettre prendre le petit Gallion appellé l'Esmerillon, que de présant il a de nous, lequel est jà viel et caduc, pour servir à l'adoub de ceux des navires qui en auront besoign et lequel nous voullons estre pris et appliqué par ledict Cartier pour l'effect desusdict, sans ce qu'il soit tenu, en rendre aucun autre compte ne relicqua, et duquel compte et relicqua nous l'avons deschargé et deschargeons par icelles présantes par lesquelles nous mendons aussy à noz prévost de Paris, baillifs de Rouan, de Caen, d'Orléans, de Bloys et de Tours, sennechaux du Maine, d'Anjou et Guyenne et à tous nos autres baillifz, sennechaux, prévostz et allouez et autres nos justiciers et officiers tant de nostre dict Royaume que le nostre pays de Bretaigne uny à iceluy, par devers lesquelz sont aucuns prisonniers accusez ou prévenus d'aucuns crimes quelz qu'ilz soinct, fors des crimes d'hérézie et de leze majesté divine et humaine envers nous et de faulx monnayeurs, qu'ilz ayent incontinent à délivrer, rendre et bailler es mains dudict Cartier, ou ses commis et deputtez portans cestes présantes ou le duplicata d'icelles, pour nostre service en ladicte entreprise et expédition, ceux desdictz prisonniers qu'il congnoistra estres propres suffizans et cappables pour servir en icelles expédition jusqu'au nombre de cinquante personnes et selon le choix que ledict Cartier en fera, iceux premièrement jugez et condamnez selon leur démeritte et la gravité de leurs meffaictz, si jugez et condamnez ne sont, et satisfaction aussy préalablement ordonnée aux parties civilles et intéressées, si faictes n'avoict esté, pour laquelle toutteffois ne voullons la déliverance de leurs personnes esdictes mains dudict Cartier s'il les trouve de service, estre retardée ne retenue, mais se prendra laditte sattisfaction sur leurs biens seullement, et laquelle déliverance desdict prisonniers, accusez ou prévenuz nous voullons estre faicte esdites mains dudict Cartier pour l'effect dessus dict, par nos dictz justiciers et officiers respectivement, et par chacun d'eux en leur regard, povoir et juredition, nonobstant oppositions ou appelations quelconcques faictes ou à faire, relevées ou à relever, et sans que par le moyen d'icelles, icelle déliverance en la manière dessus dicte soict aucunement différée, et affin que plus grand nombre n'en soict tiré outre lesdictz cinquante, nous voullons que la déliverance que chacun de nosdictz officiers en fère audict Cartier soict escripte et certiffiée en la marge de cestz présantes, et que néantmoins registre en soict par eux faictz et envoyé incontinent par devers notre amé et féal chan-

celier pour congnoistre le nombre et la quallitté de ceux qui ainsi auront esté baillez et delivrez, Car tel est nostre plaisir, en tesmoing de ce nous avons faict mettre nostre scel à cesdictes présantes. Donné à Sainct Pris le dix septieme jour d Octobre l'an de grâce mil cinq centz quarante et de nostre regne le vingt sixiesme. Ainsi signé sur le reply : Par le Roy vous Monseigneur le Chancelier et autres présans, De la Chesnaye, et scellées sur ledict reply à simple queue de cire jaulne.

Ausquelles lettres est attaché soubz contre scel autres lettres pattantes dont la teneur ensuict :

HENRY fils aisné du Roy, Dauphin de Viennois, duc de Bretaigne, Compte de Vallentinois, et de Diois, à nos amez et féaux les gens de noz et chancellerie, sénéchaux, allouez, lieutenantz, et à tous noz autres justiciers et officiers et nos dictz pays et duché salut. Nous vous mendons que suyvant le contenu et lettres patantes du Roy nostre trés honoré seigneur et pere, données en ce lieu de Sainct Pris, le dix septiesme jour de ce présant mois, ausquelles ces présantes sont attachées soubz le contre scel de nostre chancelerie, vous ayez à incontinent délivrer, rendre et bailler entre les mains de nostre cher et bien amé Jacques Cartier, capitaine général et pillotte de tous les navires et autres vaisseaux de mer que le Roy nostre dict seigneur et pere envoye és pays de Canada et Ochelaga, et jusque en la terre de Saguenay... Pour les causes à plain déclarées esdictes lettres, ou à ses commis et deputtez portant lesdictes lettres et cesdictes présantes, les prisonniers estans par devers vous accusez ou prévenus d'aucun crime, quel qu'il soict, fors de crime d'hérézie et leze majesté divine et humaine et faulz monnayeur, que le dict Cartier congnoistra estre propres, suffizans et cappables pour servir audict voiaige et enterprise jusqu'au parfaict du nombre de cinquante personnes et selon le choix que ledict Cartier en fera, iceux premièrement jugez et condamnez selon leurs demeritttes et la gravitté de leurs meffaictz, si jugez et condamnez ne sont, sattisfaction aussi préalablement faicte aux parties civilles et interessées, si faicte n'avoict esté, sans touttefois pour la dicte sattisfaction retarder la délivrance de leurs personnes esdictes mains dudict Cartier s'il les trouve de service comme dict est, mais ordonner icelle sattisfaction estre prise sur leurs biens seullement et afin qu'il n'en soict tiré plus grand nombre que cinquante, chaicun de vous respectivement regarderez la marge desdictes lettres, combien il en aura esté délivré au dict Cartier, et ferez escrire et certiffier en icelle marge ceux que luy ferez delivrer, et néantmoins en tiendrez registre que vous envoirez à nostre très cher et féal le chancelier de France et le nostre pour congnoistre le nombre et qualité qu'ainsi auront esté délivrez, le tout selon et ainsi qu'il est plus

au long contenu et déclaré esdictes lettres du Roy nostre dict seigneur et père, et que ledict seigneur le veult et mande par icelles. Donné à Sainct Pris le vingtieme jour d'Octobre l'an mil cinq centz quarante. Ainsi signé, par Monseigneur le Dauphin et duc, Clausse, et scellées à queue de cire rouge.

## APPENDIX. J.

Mr. De Costa translates "péril de nauléige" (or "péril de nauléaige" as it is in the older rendering) "*risk of shipwreck*," but this surely is a gross error. Littré says of 'naulage' that it is a "terme de marine—synonyme de fret, dans la Méditerranée" and "fret" is defined in the same work to mean the affreightment of a vessel. "Noliser" in any modern french dictionary is the word to "charter" a ship—*Bescherelle, Dictionnaire National* renders "nolis" or "naulage," 'affreightment.' Cartier therefore, we take it, simply meant that in embarking on this fourth voyage, he ran some risk of incurring additional charges in connection with the chartering of his vessel.

In taking leave of the Reverend Mr. De Costa it may be well to tabulate a few of the errors which disfigure that portion of his imposing article upon "Jacques Cartier and his successors" in Justin Winsor's History, which we have had occasion to examine.

1. He says that Cartier sailed on his first voyage with two ships of 'about' 50 tons each, *and* 162 *chosen men*.
2. He says that Cape St. Peter was on Alexay, and that the latter was probably Prince Edward Island.
3. He confounds the River of Boats with the Bay of St. Lunario.
4. He says that Cartier reached Gaspé on the 24th July.
5. He says that Cartier sailed on his second voyage three days after Easter 1535. Easter fell on the 28th March of that year. That would mean therefore that Cartier sailed on the 31st March.
6. He speaks of St. Mary's current as an "entering stream."
7. He says that Donnacona showed Cartier *eight* scalps, and told him that they had taken them from their enemies, a company of whom, two hundred in number, they had slain some time before.
8. He says that Cartier arrived at St. Malo, on his return from the second voyage. on the 1st July, 1536.
9. He confounds *Hochelay* with *Hochelaga*.

10. He says that, according to Hakluyt, Roberval sailed from Rochelle on the 14th April, 1542.

11. He says that France Royal (Charlesbourg-Royal) was *below* Quebec.

12. He translates "*péril de nauléaige*" *risk of shipwreck*."

Now the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th of these statements are simple errors of fact, as a reference to any of the accounts of Cartier's voyages will show. As for the 6th—it is scarcely necessary to say that St. Mary's current, opposite Hochelaga, is *in* the St. Lawrence river. The 12th is obvious. The second alone admits of question, and we leave it to any one acquainted with the locality to say whether any part of Prince Edward Island presents a "high and pointed" appearance from the sea.

## APPENDIX K.

### Jacques Cartier's Will.

Dated 19th May, 1541, immediately prior to his departure on the third voyage.

Endroict davent nous notaires jurez & receuz en la court de Sainct Malo soubz signans & par icelle, furent huy presens & personnellement estabiiz Jacques Cartier, capitaine & maistre pillote du Roy es terres neuffves, & Catherine Des Granges sa compaigne espouze, sieur & dame de Lymailou, & bourgeoys en ceste ville & cité de Sainct Malo, d'vne & aultre partz. Icelle dicte Catherine à sa requeste suffizamment & qui à ce que ensuist groyer, tenyr & acomplir auctorisée tant de sond. mary que de Jacques Des Granges sieur de La Ville-es-gardz, son pere, sur ce present qui de faict luy en donne ses auctoritez paternelz, au tout du contenu en cestes presentes, a promis & juré par son serment & sur hypotheque generalle de tout son bien presente & avenyr, d'icelle auctorité jamais ne faire revocation; & Jehanne Cartier, seur dud. Cartier, aussi presente, n'aller au contraire en aucune maniere. Lesqueulx, & chascun sur nommez, respectivement se submetans & se sont submis avecques touz chaincuns leurs biens meubles & immeubles presens & avenir aux pouvoir, destroit, jurisdiction, seigneurie & obeissance de nostre d. court, y fournir & obeyr droict quant au contenu de cestes presentes, sequelles & deppendances; les quelx & chascun, sans aucune induction ny coaction, mais de leurs pures & liberalles voluntez & comme mieulx leur a pleu, firent & font contract ensamble l'vn avecques l'aultre à tiltre

de pure, mutuë & esgalle donne, des forme & maniere qui ensuyvent ; par laquelle ilz & chascun s'entre sont donnez l'vn à l'aultre acceptans reciproquement le tout de l'vsufruict, jouissance & revenu des maisons, terres, apartenances, heritaiges & choses heritelles quelxconques à eulx apartenantes soit par aquest ou autrement en quelque maniere & sans reservation aucune au village de Lymailou, vulgairement appellé *la maison de Lymouellou*, situées & estantes es paroaisses de Pasramé & de Sainct Ydeuc & chascune pour en jouir le sourvivant d'elx sa vie durante seullement après le decès avenu du premier decebdé, acquicter & icelle entretenir en deuës & bonnes reparations durant que le sourvivant en jouyra & sans en faire alienation ne dyminution en maniere quelxconque. Plus s'entre sont lesd. mariez donné pour eulx, leurs hoirs & succesSeurs, le premier decedant, la somme de cent livres monnoie à estre premierement prinse & levée sur les plus riches & principales bagues & chaisnes d'or de leur communaulté au chouays du sourvivant jucques à la valleur dicelle somme. Dict & consenty entr'eulx, en presence desd. Jacques Des Granges, Jehanne Cartier, chascun pour eulx, leurs hoirs & subcesseurs, que si & en cas que ledict decès dud. Jacques Cartier premierement aviendroit que de sad. femme, en iceluy cas durant le vivant de lad. Catheryne qu'elle joyra dud. lieu & terres de Lymouellou, celle Jehanne Cartier ou les siens hoirs aura & joyra, durant led. temps, de l'vsufruict jouissance & revenu d'vne petite maison & jardrin derriere situez & estans en cested. ville de Sainct Malo jouxte les murailles d'icelle aux environs de Buhen, joignante par vne part la ruë dud. Buhen, par aultre endroict & bout à aultre jardrin apartenante à Jehanne Eberard & d'un costé le manoir de Buhen. Et si le decès de lad. Catheryne premier avenoyt durant le vivant dud. Cartier qu'il joyroit dud. lieu & heritaige de Lymouellou, celuy Jacques Des Granges pour luy ou les siens fera la jouissance, vsufruict & revenu d'iceulx petite maison & jardrin estans en cested. ville comme dict est jucques au temps du decès dud. Cartier. Et le decès dud. sourvivant avenu seront tous leurs heritaiges partagez & divisez entre les heritiers & subcesseurs d'iceulx mariez & chascun comme apartiendra par droict & coustume. Et, des à present comme des lors du decès du premier decedé, ont voullu & consanty l'vn a l'autre que le sourvivant en prenne & aprehende la reele, corporelle & actuelle possession & jouissance, sans aultre moien ne mestier de justice, & se y entre constituans l'vn l'aultre pour le survivant vroy possesseur aud. tiltre à viaige seullement comme dessus. Et de ce s'entre sont promis bon & deu garantaige sur leursd. biens, neantmoingz droict & coustume au contraire disans : donneur n'estre tenu garantyr

la chose par luy donnée. Et les choses toutes & chaincune cy dessus lesd. parties & chaincune surnommées, & chaincune presente pour ce que luy touche, ont congneu estre vroyes, de la manierre les ont promis & juré tenyr & acomplir, sans pouvoir aller ne faire au contraire, en maniere quelxconque y avoir ne querir delaiz aucuns, à quoy ils ont renuncé. Et partant à ce faire les y avons de leurs consantements & requestes condemnez & condempnons ; donné à tesmoing de ce les sceaux establiz aux contractz de nostred. court. Et fut faict & le gré prins en cested. ville de Sainct Malo en la maison & demeurance desd. mariez, le dix neufiiesme jour de may MDXLI. *Ainsi signé* JAC CARTIER, G. REHAULD, F. LE BRET.

## APPENDIX L.

A letter written to M. Iohn Growte, student in Paris, by Iaques Noel, of S. Malo, the nephew of Iaques Cartier, touching foresaid discouery.

Master Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an English Gentleman : wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaques Cartier: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe the great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertised vs, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Saults or falles of the Riuer stand in 44. degrees of latitude : it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were best to build boates above the Saults : and it is easie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults : it is not aboue fiue leagues iourney. I haue bene upon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue seene the sayd Riuer beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed vnto vs to be broader than it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey aduertised vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto the Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write vnto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here

therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of June, 1587.

Your louing Friend

IAQVES NOEL.

Cosin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discouery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe myselfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

(Vnderneath the aforesaid vnpersite relation that which follweth is written in another letter sent to M. Iohn Growte, student in Paris from Iaques Noel of S. Maio, the grand nephew of Iaques Cartier.)

I can write nothing else vnto you of anything that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my vncle disceased, although I haue made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne : sauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said vncle, which is in the possession of Master Cremeur : which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I my selfe haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene : The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said riuer somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the North west, these words following written in the hand of Iaques Cartier.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of *Saguenay*, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the same I found written these two lines following in the saide Carde enclining toward the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language *Canodeta*.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I have deliuered to my two sonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing, about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertise you thereof.

Your louing Friend,

IAQVES NOEL.

# INDEX.

—o—

## A.



## B.

## C.

## D.



## E.

## F.



## G.



## H.

## I. & J.



## K.



## L.

## M.



## N.

## O.



## P.



## Q.



## R.

## S.

## T.



## V.



## W.